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# SAINT HELENA



# SAINT HELENA

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BY

"A BIRD OF PASSAGE"

LONDON

HOULSTON AND WRIGHT

65, PATERNOSTER ROW

MDCCLXV

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY,  
ADMIRAL SIR CHARLES ELLIOT, K.C.B.,  
GOVERNOR OF SAINT HELENA,  
ETC., ETC., ETC.,

THIS WORK IS, BY SPECIAL PERMISSION,  
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# SAINT HELENA.

## CHAPTER I.

### FIRST IMPRESSIONS OF SAINT HELENA.

MUCH of the gratification which a stranger derives from a visit to the little island of St. Helena depends upon the time when he obtains his first view of it. The most favourable circumstances under which he can approach, on the usual sailing route from the Cape, is under a bright sunrise, with a fresh breeze blowing, and a clear sky. A blue cloud in the west rising rapidly from the sea is the first indication of land; its outline becomes every instant more distinct; its colour changes, and it assumes various hues of brown and gold as the sun ascends; and as the vessel approaches the island, the cloud assumes the appearance of an enormous dome, from parts of which delicate spires seem to rise for a moment, which soon become grotesque and irregular masses, ever changing in shape and colour until they gradually resolve themselves into the rocky summits of hills rising in the interior of the island, and beetling, rocky cliffs on the coast, rising precipitously from the depth of ocean.

As the outline becomes more definite, an oppressive feeling bordering on depression almost unavoidably comes over the spectator. The land rises abruptly and to a very considerable height out of the sea. There is no sloping beach or shore visible; no signs of human habitation present themselves; no town, no village, no curling wreath of smoke to indicate that, embosomed in thicket or forest, a dwelling may exist affording the shelter and comforts of home to some human being. Masses of dark brown rock rise almost perpendicularly from the sea, separated by ravines or chasms, the sides of which are so steep that their summits seem inaccessible, and their course so winding that any view towards the interior of the island is limited to a glimpse here and there as the scene rapidly changes. One of the few exceptions to the general appearance of barrenness and desolation is a distant view of Longwood House and the house at Deadwood; but to be enabled to see them at all the traveller must be provided with a very good glass, and must be directed where to look for them, as they can only be seen at a considerable distance from the land, on account of the abruptness of the coast.

Perched on a high peak on the left hand, and evidently, even at the first glance, a *look-out post*, is the Prosperous Bay signal station, one of a series of telegraphs that was established about the time of Napoleon's arrival in the island. In view, and more nearly ahead of the vessel, are the Prosperous Bay and Turk's Cap ravines, and the massive promontory called the Barn. The vessel sweeps rapidly round this magnificent buttress

of bare rock, rising almost perpendicularly 2,215 feet from the sea, and is immediately becalmed, or nearly so, in the smooth water of Flagstaff Bay; but, with the impetus thus gained, she passes the peak called Sugarloaf, and the batteries at Bankes's are in view, the guns almost over the deck.

Gliding gently onwards, the vessel is suddenly struck by a puff, or rather a gust of wind blowing down the ravine dividing Bankes's ridge from Rupert's. Recovering herself from the rude shock which has given her sufficient impetus to advance some half-mile or so, a second but less violent puff down the ravine known as Rupert's Valley enables her, with her now reduced sail, to reach the desired spot for anchoring.

While passing Rupert's Bay, as the rather wide opening at the mouth of the ravine is named, some two or three indications of civilization, more pleasing to the eye than either telegraphs or batteries, come in view; these consist, first, of boats from Jamestown, with vegetables, fruit, bread, &c., for sale. Next is the view up Rupert's Valley, which contains near the *lines*, as the old wall and rampart across its mouth are called, the establishment of the rescued negroes taken by cruisers from slavers, who are kept here until suitable conveyance for them to the West Indies is obtained. Passing the eye quickly over the lower part of the valley, the attention is at once drawn to a prominently situated country house and a forest, or what passes for one in the island. At the head of the valley, on an elevation of about 1,900 feet above the sea, Munden's Battery is passed. The buildings on Ladder Hill resolve themselves into barracks, with guns in front pointing seaward over low walls. Two or three pleasantly situated buildings a little higher up are strongly suspected at this distance to be officers' quarters, and the grim old tower at High Knoll frowns over the whole. The boarding officer, however, is seen approaching with a little flag in the bow of the boat; the crew are on deck, the yards are lowered, sails clewed up, the anchor drops, and after a few short drags on the bottom, the vessel yields to the resisting force, and slowly swings head to wind:—we are at Saint Helena.

A few questions are asked by the boarding officer, chiefly on the subjects of contagious diseases and recent newspapers; a white flag to indicate "*pratique*" is hoisted at the masthead; smiling merchants or their agents skip nimbly up the side, and present their cards to the captain if a stranger, or their hands if an old acquaintance; shore boats, which might be cleaner, are offered to the passengers, and as the stay of the vessel will be short, they are readily accepted by those who are bent on an excursion into the country. A few minutes are sufficient for reaching the landing-place, and the passenger, weary of sea and its accompaniments, has his foot once more on *terra firma*.

The objects which meet the eye on landing are not calculated to give a stranger a very overpowering idea of the wealth of this English colony. The landing-place is simply a *landing*-place, consisting of a few stone steps, which the traveller ascends dryshod if the sea be smooth and himself tolerably active. He is not bewildered by any maze of storehouses or dock buildings; he sees before him a road leading towards what he feels sure is Jamestown; on his left is the perpendicular rock from which the road he is on was hewn out, and on his right is the crane by

which the imports of the island are unloaded. One or two boys with hack horses, two or three women with pears, and peaches if in season, a few boatmen, fishermen, and labourers, who appear to have something to do, and some others who are idlers and have nothing to do, make up the obstructions of the way; and as neither the place itself nor its adjuncts are such as to induce any one to linger about it who can do anything else, the traveller steps briskly on, and having traversed a very antiquated drawbridge, passes the lower lines, Jamestown, with its guns and mortars, its shot and shell, and turning sharply to the left through an arched opening in the upper lines, he finds himself in Jamestown itself.

In front is a tolerably wide street, the main street of the town; on the left is the entrance to a building known as "the Castle," containing certain public offices, and supposed charitably to be the town residence of the Governor. Adjoining it is the entrance to the Commissariat office and stores, where a sentry, keeping watch and ward over the entrances to these dreary-looking localities, walks his measured pace under the soothing influence of two or three shady trees, but with all the appearance of *ennui* that an idle life in an idle place may be expected to produce. A glance to the right shows a large and comfortable hotel, and, as if endeavouring to hide itself in a dark corner,—a diminutive structure containing the officer commanding the troops, and sundry other military officers when on duty. On the left, and just beyond the guarded post before mentioned, is a neat and plain building, in which the law of the land is expounded to offending subjects by a chief judge in the centre of the building, and by minor judicial authorities in other parts of it. Almost in front of him the traveller sees on his right hand St. James's Church, an edifice of no pretension to architectural beauty, with a dumpy square tower supporting as if with difficulty a pointed spire, and a huge clock face in the middle of the only window.

A little farther on is the entrance to "the Garden," a piece of ground of about an acre in extent, actually the garden attached to the Governor's town residence, but thrown open to the public; and being planted with trees, well watered and carefully attended to, it is really a boon to the inhabitants of the dry and arid valley in which Jamestown is situated. Adjoining the garden, and forming its boundary on that side, is the best situated dwelling-house in Jamestown, and that in which Napoleon passed his first night in Saint Helena. It is worth remarking that the late Duke of Wellington, when Sir Arthur Wellesley, on his return from India early in the present century, slept a night in the same house, and it is said, with every probability of its being correct, in the apartment subsequently occupied by the illustrious exile.\*

The remainder of the houses in this, the main street, comprises private dwellings, merchants' offices, consular offices of various nations, retail shops, a large and, considering the purpose for which it was constructed, handsome storehouse, belonging to the well-known firm of Solomon, Moss, Gideon, and Co., an hotel, and the mess-house of the officers of the

\* It is much to be regretted that this interesting relic has been destroyed by fire since the writing of these pages. The circumstances attending the occasion were such as to leave little doubt that the fire was the work of an incendiary.



Saint Helena Regiment (the late regiment). This is *de facto* the principal street of the town, and the traveller had now better betake himself to an hotel, and after breakfast take the horse or the carriage ordered for him by the hotel-keeper, and proceed on his journey to the interior.

## CHAPTER II.

### A JOURNEY TO THE INTERIOR.

If the captain is in a hurry to get on, as most captains are, the traveller has not more than some five hours, or perhaps six, at his command; and as the chief objects of interest in the island are the residence of Napoleon and his tomb, the route to be followed is that known as the *Side Path*. Passing the offices and other buildings, before mentioned as forming the principal street in the town, and dashing at what at first seems an impracticable alley, the traveller enters Napoleon Street. It widens a little as he proceeds; and after getting up a rather steep ascent, which reminds him of Palace Gate at Quebec, if he has ever been there, he begins the ascent of the Side Path. Why it should be so named—or rather, why it should be distinguished from nearly all the roads or paths in the island by a qualifying term to which they are equally entitled, as being on the sides of hills or mountains—is hard to say, and perhaps little to the purpose. Side Path it is, and a very monotonous and fatiguing one too.

At starting, the upper portion of the town, or that which the traveller left unexplored, is open on his right, and spreads out as he proceeds like a map. The most conspicuous object is the barrack and officers' quarters, with the lower parade,—a large and well-situated establishment, the officers' portion especially. The other is not so well placed with regard to ventilation, as the rooms are built *in* the line of the valley instead of *across* it. Here and there a substantial-looking house is seen in the street leading up from the lower part of the town towards the head of the valley, but a great part of the ground in the neighbourhood of the barracks is covered with wretched-looking hovels and roofless walls. Three cemeteries, no longer used as such, except in certain cases of close family ties, occupy a considerable part of the middle of the town, and do not improve its appearance. A large open drain, commonly called the "Run," which conducts the water from two small streams, uniting at the head of Jamestown Valley, through the town to the sea, now becomes visible; but let not the traveller imagine that this portion is the only one known to the inhabitants of Jamestown merely because it is the first view he has had of it. In passing through the town it avoids the main or principal street, and seeks a more quiet route at the back of the houses on one side; but it is still an open *drain*, and its claim to the title is strengthened and increased materially between the point from which we are now looking at it and that at which it enters the sea.

Lifting his eyes from this *cloaca maxima*, the traveller notices with pleasure the improving prospect before him. The ascent of about one-third part of Side Path has carried him past the squalid and miserable huts in which not only the vicious but the poor pass their allotted time, and then leave their places to be filled by successors, too often, unfortunately, the counterparts of themselves. A small and modest little tower nearly opposite the barracks has, from its sombre colour and confined situation, almost escaped notice; it belongs to a church, the property of a Baptist congregation, comprising a number of highly respectable inhabitants of Jamestown and the neighbouring country. The Reverend Mr. Bertram is the presiding minister, but services are conducted frequently by lay members, amongst whose names are some that will be long remembered in Saint Helena in many a poor family. Just above the barracks is situated the building used for the purpose of divine worship by the Roman Catholic portion of the community, but the congregation consists almost entirely of military men, the number of native inhabitants of that religious persuasion being very small. A very little farther on is a neat church very lately completed. It has been named St. John's, and its completion, which has been much accelerated by the earnest efforts of some of its members in its immediate vicinity, has proved a great relief to St. James's Church, which is too small for even its reduced congregation. The civil and military hospitals come next in view; the former very plainly so, being a large building, with every indication of order and cleanliness, and open to good ventilation, but devoid of trees for natural shade, and of the verandahs which every building within the tropics, especially a hospital, should possess. The latter (the military hospital) can scarcely be seen, so thoroughly is it shut in by large spreading trees. The building is not so well placed for any advantage to be derived from a free and open current of air as the civil hospital; but it is less exposed to the heat of the sun, and the convalescent patients, or any others able to leave the wards, enjoy the relief—no slight one to a sick man—of strolling a few steps, or sitting down to rest in the open air, well shaded from the sun.

On the opposite side of the road, a small square of well-constructed tenements, with water-tank and out-buildings, forms so striking a contrast to the style of buildings for similar purposes seen shortly after leaving the town, that a word or two in explanation will not be out of place. These tenements, thirteen in number, have been built by the Colonial Government, on the site of a part of what was, and is still, known as China Town. They are constructed with a due regard to the requirements of small families, and of materials of durable kind, but at the same time with the full knowledge of the circumstances of the class of persons for whom they were intended. They are let to well-conducted small families, under certain necessary conditions and restrictions; and so eager were numbers of the class referred to to escape from the dens in which they had been compelled to have their homes, that long before the dwellings were completed, the list of applicants was far beyond the projected number of tenements.

The view, which may now be called a bird's-eye view, next takes in the large, well-cultivated grounds attached to Maldivia, and other private

dwellings, and in gradually raising the eye from the valley it is arrested for a moment by the gardens and grape vines at Chubb's Spring. But something new breaks on the attention every instant when at this part of the road, and while still ascending. In front, or nearly so, at some of the slight sinuosities of the road, is an abrupt promontory called Peak Hill, with Barnes's Road winding like a long spiral round the almost perpendicular face of the promontory. To the right is a deep hollow, almost shut in by precipices, in the centre of which a dark pool receives the water poured into it by a very pretty cascade, known *par excellence* as "the Waterfall." In ordinary, or dry, fine weather the stream becomes so small in volume that one of the sudden puffs of wind that now and then may be heard whistling round the hollow is powerful enough to convert it into spray and carry it up among the surrounding rocks like a thin veil. Occasionally, but at long intervals, very heavy showers of rain burst over the centre of the island, and the waterfall comes down like the broom of a giant, and sweeps out the pool below, sending a heap of vegetable matter, in various stages of decay, into the Run before spoken of; and having picked up in its angry course a few fowls and ducks, with probably an innocent young pig or two, mixing up the whole with a miscellaneous collection of washing-tubs and other industrial and domestic utensils, it bears them off to the sea. Over the Waterfall, and at some distance from it, is seen the cathedral of St. Paul; or, as it is more generally called, Country Church. At a short distance from it, but not visible from Side Path, is Plantation House, the residence of the Governor. On the right hand, and towering almost over his head, the traveller now sees the old fortalice of High Knoll, the position and appearance of which carry one back into the times of Major Dalgetty, and of Anne of Geierstein.

In front, and gradually opening out like a map or well-defined plan, on his right hand as the traveller continues to ascend, is a charming villa residence. This little bijou, which would have kept George Robins sleepless until he had brought out its beauties in an advertisement, is, however, not only attractive on account of its approaches, its lawns, shrubberies, and general tasteful appearance, but also because one of its *attachés* is the pavilion in which Napoleon lived for some weeks, while the house at Longwood was being prepared for his reception.

A sudden turn in the road now shows the traveller the ascent he has made; and in front, or very nearly so, for the road almost doubles on itself, he sees Jamestown spread out beneath him, with the harbour and shipping. Ladder Hill is on his left; and on his right is the ridge separating James' Valley from Rupert's. A steep bit of road, some 150 yards in length, puts his horses to their mettle, and it is a relief to all concerned to arrive at the turn where the road resumes the original direction.

A moss-covered stone at this point indicates the distance from town to be 1 mile 1,124 yards, and the elevation above the sea to be 1,180 feet. A piece of road of but slight ascent encourages the steeds to attempt a trot, and the sudden change of temperature is very refreshing. Another turn to the left, and again to the right, and the road now improves in its general features, being much less steep than before, less rough, and much wider, with some trees and shrubs on each side. It winds very prettily round some few slight eminences, and under the shade of large and

spreading trees, for about a mile or hardly so much, in the course of which two or three small branch roads turn off from it, leading to Rural Retreat, Prospect, and other country seats, at one of which turnings, a board, with the inscription "To Napoleon's Tomb," has been so ingeniously placed that the chance of a stranger taking the wrong road is at least equal to his continuing on the right one, the main road, or that which he has so far travelled, and continuing on which, he soon emerges from the shade of the trees, which have for some little while hid the surrounding country from his view, and he is on the highest part of the road between Jamestown and Longwood, 1,900 feet above the sea. On his right is Alarm House, the white building which attracted his attention when passing Rupert's Valley, just before anchoring. The view from this point is very fine. Looking to the front, or in the direction of the road, St. Matthew's Church is just visible through the trees which border the road near Hutt's Gate, where the church is situated. The rectory (Longwood) is very near it on the left; then a little hill which shields the rectory from the easterly breeze, that, despite the tropical position of the island, is often bleak and cold. Still turning towards the left, some glimpses of a winding road are caught, with two or three little bits of sea far in the distance, and then, on a slightly elevated site, the old house, as it is called, of Longwood, attracts attention from its conspicuous position. Still to the left is the bold mass of the "Barn," which was passed on approaching the island; but the chief point of observation is, of course, Longwood, the road to which appears to the traveller to lead in the wrong direction. The cause is obvious to him when he looks down, for between himself and the point of his destination yawns a ravine of some 1,000 feet or more in depth, and he must go round the head of it. He has time to note all this; for in all probability the sudden stroke of the south-east trade wind, which he felt when he reached the top of the hill at Alarm House, has rendered a stoppage for a short time necessary; while the boy who, as he just now discovers, has held on to his horse's tail all the way up from the town, runs back to pick up his hat.

Fixing his hat firmly on his head, and probably buttoning up his coat, the difference of temperature between what the visitor now feels and anything he can remember of it for some time back being remarkable, he proceeds about half a mile to the branch road which turns to the left, and by which he descends into the ravine, to visit the tomb of the Emperor. The tomb itself is a plain stone construction, with little ornament, and at first reminds one, perhaps from its solid, plain, and tranquil style, of something of the sort which one has seen before; and a momentary recollection of the plain tomb of the Duke of Sussex in Kensal Green, or that of O'Connell at Glasnevin, induces a retrospect to rush across the mind of scenes almost forgotten, and only to be recalled by strong and involuntary associations.

But here is the tomb—the spot selected by himself for his resting-place—of the man who a few short years before held the fate of kings and nations in his grasp, in a quiet unfrequented little valley, in an almost unfrequented little island, of which, in his power and might, he had perhaps scarcely recognized the existence. The stone tomb is enclosed by an iron railing, and a small piece of ground surrounding it by a light wooden

fence. Some willow trees and flowering geraniums within the enclosure are carefully protected from the ravages of visitors by a very polite and civil guardian, a soldier in the French service, who receives visitors, points out the spring of water that the Emperor discovered, and presents for record the book in which visitors inscribe their names. Quickly ascending the hill, the traveller resumes his route, passes the pretty little church which he had previously seen, and gradually rounding the head of the ravine, which is in fact, as he now may perceive, no other than the one before noticed as Rupert's Valley, he gets a distant view of the shipping lying at anchor in the harbour, and in a few minutes after rounding one or two points on the road, arrives at the entrance to Longwood,—a rather narrow gateway, with a dilapidated stone pier, and a small, a very small stone-built cottage on each side. Directly in front, at the distance of a short half-mile, is the "old house," and a very inviting greensward tempts the nag into a canter, which soon terminates at the enclosure of the house, a simple wooden fence with a plain barred gate.

Numberless little boys appear in a mysteriously sudden manner, ready to hold the horses, which are not admitted within the enclosure, and the visitor, or visitors, as the case may be—the latter being the most general, and decidedly the most agreeable mode of travelling on roads where, sometimes for miles together, not a human being may be seen—is received at the entrance of the house by a "sous officier" of the French army, who, speaking English fluently as well as his own language, conducts the visitor through the different rooms, and explains the purposes to which they were applied during the residence of the illustrious exile.

A detailed description of the house would be here out of place, as the traveller has not come so far to see merely a small and inconvenient cottage, but to realize the intentions, perhaps, of childhood; and the house in which Napoleon died must be seen to be known. It may be remarked, however, that shortly after the death of the Emperor, the building reverted to its former purposes, as part of a farming establishment, and was suffered to succumb to the influence of the weather, which in this bleak and exposed situation would doubtless in a few years have destroyed the most interesting portions, if not the whole, of the establishment. The subject having been brought to the notice of the French Government, negotiations were opened with that of England, which ended in the transfer to France of the two domains, the "old house" and "the tomb of the Emperor," with a certain amount of ground attached to each, producing the rather singular anomaly of French territory in the middle of an English colony.

The visitor having gone carefully through the rooms in the house, having seen the fishpond, and written his name in the visitors' book, now has leisure for a glance at the view around him. From the back of the "old house," the point at which he most likely commences his survey, he has an extensive and varied prospect,—sea in the distance, but not so far as to prevent his catching sight of vessels nearing the island, on the track by which he himself approached it but a few hours before; the rugged outline of the land overhanging the sea, barren and apparently desolate; an immense ravine or valley in front, the bare and rocky sides of which are beautifully streaked with every imaginable shade of colour; the ridge on

the opposite side gradually rising to the right, until from "Great" and "Little" "Stone Tops," the most prominent points in front, the eye is carried on until it rests on the green hills forming the central ridge of the island, and on which the highest of three nearly equal eminences is known as Diana's Peak, 2,697 feet above the sea. It is at the foot or base, if it may be so called, of this ridge, that the valley in front commences its descent towards the sea, its *embouchure* forming the indentation known as Prosperous Bay, the point at which the English troops landed in 1673, when the island was retaken from the Dutch.

Looking down into the bottom of the ravine, a strip of green is seen bordering a little stream of water: two or three small cottages far down create in the mind of the spectator a feeling akin to wonder as to how or why they got there, and whether their inhabitants, if they have any, ever find their way out of such a pit; and some ruined walls forming what were once terraces are pointed out to him as the remains of a once thriving establishment known as Bradley's;—the place bears the name, in fact, at the present day, but not the fruit, which, if we are to believe what we may find in Governor Beatson's tracts, written in 1811, must have been something that would *now* be considered marvellous. The view might be enjoyed for some time longer, but a sharp gust of wind, rising over the steady breeze which has by this time chilled the traveller, cuts, if he has been lately in the East, to his bones, and he seeks the leeward side of the house. Standing for a few minutes on the verandah steps at the front, he sees at a couple of hundred yards off the roofs of a large block of buildings, the lower part being hidden from his view by the ground, which, sloping in that direction, has been partially cut away to make room for the "New House," and afford that structure some protection from the cold and biting winds and rains which, during at least half the year, render the climate of Longwood anything but a tropical one, and which must have had some influence over the architect who designed the New House, if one may judge from the number of chimneys which project above the roofs. A little to the right of the New House is the one which Marshal Bertrand occupied during the greater portion of the time Napoleon was at Longwood.

Beyond these houses, and looking over the New House, is seen the plain of Deadwood, on which a regiment was stationed during Napoleon's residence at Longwood. The ground rises gradually beyond Deadwood plain, and terminates in a lofty peak called "Flagstaff," on which in former times was erected one of the numerous signal stations then established in such positions as to maintain during any night a constant means of mutual communication with head-quarters and all parts of the island. To the right of Flagstaff is the immense mass of the Barn, apparently cut off from all access by a deep ravine. This is, however, not really the case; it can be scaled, though not without fatigue and some difficulty; but ladies have accomplished the feat. The visitor may perhaps wish to leave a card for the officer appointed by the French Government as guardian of the *domaines*, Baron Gauthier de Rougemont, a highly distinguished cavalry officer. The sergeant then civilly conducts him to the entrance, and, remounting his steed, he returns by the road on which he came.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE RETURN JOURNEY.

ON the return journey the traveller can afford to devote some attention to the scenery which he passed rather too quickly on his ride out to notice particularly ; and it presents so different an aspect on being seen from a reversed point of view, as to repay some little notice being taken of it. The ravine on his right, round the head of which he passed shortly before arriving at Longwood, he now observes expands considerably near the part which he is now rounding,—so much so as to have gained the name of the Devil's Punch-bowl. A little spur from the ridge at the top divides it almost equally ; and leading off from the main road, and crossing this spur some distance down, he sees the footpath by which Napoleon is said to have been in the habit of walking to the spring of water in the valley where he was afterwards buried.

A little farther on, a low roof on the left-hand side near the road suggests to the traveller the idea of a cottage of small dimensions almost swallowed up by some convulsion of nature ; it is a tank, and just at this spot the road is perceived to be formed on the summit of a ridge which separates, almost like a wall, the head of Rupert's Valley from the ravine or valley seen from the back of the "Old House," and which now presents a very different aspect from the part where the traveller first became acquainted with it. The steep and precipitous sides of the ravine, the gullies and ridges in the bare and sterile rock, the many-coloured streaks of oxides of iron, have all disappeared in a gradual but rapid change to banks sloping downwards into the ravine at a less impracticable angle, with bridle paths leading to rich pasture and meadow land, groves of trees, forest and fruit, well-kept gardens, and substantial stone dwellings.

The first on the left is Willow Bank, very prettily placed, and a striking object in the view ; next, and rather higher up the well-wooded ridge, is Teutonic Hall, more remarkable for the rigid uniformity of its many windows than for any architectural or picturesque beauty. Almost buried in a mass of trees, and at what may be called the head of the valley, is Mallbro Cottage. The house on the right hand, before referred to as Longwood Rectory, was occupied for some time by Marshal Bertrand when in attendance on Napoleon ; and the one on the left is the only house of entertainment the traveller is likely to see on his jaunt, unless he has time to cross over Halley's Mount in front of him, and return to Jamestown by another route. We will suppose he has : accordingly, he proceeds to ascend the little hill in front of him, instead of turning to the right, as he would do at this point if intending to proceed to town by the road by which he came.

A road which turns off here to the left, and winds round the valley, crossing the ridge on the opposite side near Teutonic Hall, at a part called Alarm Hill, is conducted by most picturesque windings round hills, ridges, and valleys of rich land, and round ravines and rocky gorges of

bare and barren rock, flanked by precipices almost inaccessible, offering a series of views unsurpassed probably in any other place of equal size in the world,—so say those, at least, who have travelled much. One of the best houses in the island, Rock Rose, is situated on this road, which continues round ridge and valley until it terminates at Sandy Bay. The distance by this road is too great for our traveller of five or six hours, however, to think of getting over; and passing the pretty little iron church, St. Matthew's, he crosses Halley's Mount, so named from a visit paid by that eminent astronomer in the year 1676, to observe, as it is said, a transit of Venus. Great disappointments are sometimes caused by very trifling accidents; and although the great astronomer could foretell to a nicety the instant at which the planet would appear on the sun's disc, he could not foretell the state of the weather in Saint Helena at the time it would occur, or he might have saved himself the trouble of coming out, as the day was a cloudy one, and he saw nothing above him but rain.

The road descends—or the traveller does—after crossing Halley's Mount, and winds round two rather dull and sombre valleys and ridges showing good pasture land, and, at the right season of the year, good crops of hay. Glimpses of the harbour and shipping, High Knoll, and St. Paul's Church are obtained. One or two country residences are also seen, but the road presents no remarkable feature in the ever-changing scenery until, having ascended a hill with overhanging bushes and trees on the left hand, and a deep but beautifully green and undulating valley on the right, the traveller finds himself on the ridge which separates the windward from the leeward side of the island. Here a view suddenly breaks up before him which can scarcely be surpassed, can never be forgotten, and must be seen to be appreciated.

Standing at an elevation of 2,200 feet above the sea, the surf breaking on the beach of Sandy Bay at a little under three miles in a direct line from the point at which he stands, the whole expanse of the valley of Sandy Bay is spread out before the spectator. From the ridge of Diana's peak on the left, and from the point whence the view is seen, the ground slopes very rapidly, and the road leading down into the valley winds about in every imaginable direction, doubling on itself; here clinging, as it were, with difficulty to the edge of a projecting spur, and there sunk into the depth of a gully; sometimes hid from sight by a projecting point, and emerging again into view at a spot where least likely to be looked for; changing its direction so often and so capriciously, that detached portions of it, seen between the projecting headlands, may be imagined as leading either up or down the valley, as whim or fancy dictates. On the right, a bold promontory, covered with fir trees, strikes out into the valley a few hundred feet, and then, as if alarmed at its temerity, or boastful of its prowess, suddenly stops short and bluff at the top, while a little below the greensward slopes off quickly but evenly to join the valley lower down.

On this promontory is situated the house known as Mount Pleasant, and near it, but not seen from the ridge, is Rose Cottage.

Looking downwards and over the rich grassy slopes into the valley, the principal residences which arrest the eye are Bamboo Grove and Bamboo



Hedge ; in the centre of the picture, Wranghams ; a little higher on the left, part of Coffee Grove establishment. On the right is the Sandy Bay school-house and some other snug-looking cottages. The picturesque effect of the scene is rendered complete by the sleek and glossy coats of some cattle quietly grazing in a field, almost under the point at which we stand, and the gambollings of some rather fast young colts a little farther down. This is the upper or nearer portion of the valley, a fertile and productive field ; but lift the eye over it, and look towards the sea ; there a region of barrenness and desolation presents itself, such as is seldom seen. High and precipitous ridges, apparently inaccessible, with most fantastic and distorted outlines ; rock bare and barren, split up into fissures ; ravines and gorges with high and boldly projecting dikes breaking out at intervals ; no order or succession apparent in the distribution of these masses of inert matter. It is a chaos, a something unfinished, reminding one of his first view of the moon through a large telescope. A little to the right of Bamboo Hedge, but nearer the sea, and therefore much lower in the valley, a high sugarloaf-shaped mass of rock rises above the ridge of which it forms a part ; and though the streams of fragments of all sizes which have collected on the sides of the ridge testify to the gradual but sure work of time and weather on the hardest rock, it presents a bold and lofty front to the destroyer. It is named *Lot* ; why so is less easy to record.

Nearly in a line with *Lot*, and perched on the extreme line of vision on the rocky outline above the coast, and at an elevation of 1,550 feet above the sea, rises a tall and singular column of rock : it is larger at half its height than at the base, like a gigantic skittle-pin ; this is *Lot's Wife* : three smaller columnar masses near it are her "*Daughters*." A good eye may detect, just where the surf is seen to break, a part of *Horse's Head*, the name of which appears to have originated in a fancied resemblance in the form to that equine feature imparted to a basaltic dyke, which has been partially denuded of its softer covering. A quiet little nook at *Horse's Head* has been named the *Arm-chair*, and evidences of the appropriateness of the place for drawing the corks of claret bottles are occasionally visible there.

If wild, rugged, rocky barrenness, in close contrast with luxuriant vegetation, possess any charm for the traveller, he leaves Sandy Bay reluctantly ; but his time is precious, and he crosses the head of the valley, and by a very pleasant winding road the heads of two or three other valleys, deep down in which he sees highly cultivated land and pleasantly placed residences. One in particular attracts his notice, embosomed in a thick grove of trees, "*Oakbank*," the residence of his Lordship the Bishop of Saint Helena ; a turn towards the left and again to the right, and Saint Paul's, or Country Church, is on his left hand.

The road which branches off just at the point leads to what may be designated the *Belgravia* of the island, but we have not time to do more than pass it quickly. The gate at which we immediately afterwards draw up involuntarily is the entrance to "*Plantation*," the residence of his Excellency the Governor. In front is the oft-seen High Knoll, and the lofty peak on the right of it is no other than the "*Flagstaff*" seen from Longwood. A very conspicuous point in the view from this part of the

road is the country house and grounds of "Prospect," the approach to which was passed after the ascent of Side Path, and shortly before arriving at Alarm House, "Knollcombes," Willow Cottage, and some other tasteful residences are seen down in the valley. On the opposite side, on a gently sloping green plateau, a troop of cricketers may frequently be seen vigorously playing bat and ball on Francis' Plain. This plain is also the Campus Martius of the Saint Helena Militia, who assemble there at stated times for purposes of drill and inspection. The "Briars" may be seen from this part of the road, and the long and tedious Side Path is visible; so is the winding Barnes's Road. We pass the second entrance to "Plantation" grounds, where a stone tank on one side and a small roadside public-house on the other present themselves. Enfield Lodge is perched up on our right hand, on a bleak bluff or excrescence on the slope from High Knoll. Princes Lodge is snugly ensconced on the left in a little hollow scooped out by nature, affording shelter from the cutting breezes of Red Hill. This is a very tasty and comfortable-looking residence, with what every house standing detached from others ought to have, but what very few in Saint Helena do possess—namely, a *verandah*. Another roadside public-house, one or two small and compact-looking little places down in the valley on the left, and up on the slope of High Knoll on the right, relieve the now monotonous appearance of the landscape, which gradually slopes towards the sea, and offers really very little of either the grand, the beautiful, or the picturesque.

On the road-side are seen the remains of the aqueduct by which the water required at Ladder Hill was formerly brought from a spring in the neighbourhood of "Plantation." The buildings at Ladder Hill are now in sight; the straggling cottages, almost hidden by dry stone walls and prickly pear bushes, on the right, are included under a somewhat comprehensive term, "Half-tree Hollow," but whence the term is a puzzle, for there is not a half or any part of a tree visible on or near the place, nor is the reason for calling the round and swelling summit of a hill a hollow traceable to any more satisfactory source. Winding round the slight inequalities of the ground, the steepness of the descent is lessened by the sinuosities of the road near the officers' quarters, and Ladder Hill barracks is reached, in the placing of which the object in view appears to have been to get as near the edge of a gradually decaying cliff as possible. We now turn sharp to the right, and are on Ladder Hill Road; Jamestown is spread out beneath us, and the landing-place, with the boats and all the bustle of welcoming an arrival or packing off a departure, is, in full activity, fairly in view. Passing some fearful-looking masses of rock, which appear to be suspended by a thread as fine as that by which hung the sword of Damocles, and wondering whether and when they will fall into the devoted town beneath them—nay, almost wondering why they have never yet done so, or why they do not do it now—we quickly accomplish the descent of the hill, and hand over the tough and by no means jaded steeds to the attendant sprites who have accompanied us, walking when we rode slowly, running when our rate of progression rendered it necessary, opening the gates when we arrived at those most abominable obstructions on the road, and yet as fresh as when they started five hours ago; and now indulge in saltatory tokens of joy on being rewarded with

a small coin and a kind word. There are worse specimens of humanity to be met with than the "gamins" of Jamestown, bad as they are.

The tour just accomplished by the traveller is that most frequently adopted by those whose stay at the island is limited to a few hours, as is the case with most who visit Saint Helena on their passage, the usual requirements of vessels passing the island being limited to a few articles of provisions and vegetables, and perhaps water, all of which is soon supplied. If, however, the stay at the island can be prolonged for a few days, there are a number of roads to explore, and any amount of hills to scramble up and down, with as great a variety of grand and magnificent scenery as any locality, of equal extent, in the world can show.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ARRIVAL OF NAPOLEON AT SAINT HELENA.

It is not intended to introduce into this little book any history of the great man whose life ended in exile on the rock which subsequently became so famous, but merely to record a few facts in connection with his residence in the island, and for replies to the inquiries which have possibly arisen in the mind of one who has visited the house in which he lived and died, and the valley in which his mortal remains were deposited.

A great deal has been written and published to the world respecting the treatment of Napoleon, from the time at which the first intimation of the intention of the British Government to send him to Saint Helena was made to him by Major-General Sir Henry Bunbury, on board the *Bellerophon*, in July, 1815, until the period at which his remains were received on board the French frigate *Belle Poule*, on the 15th of October, 1840. From that day certainly all influence over the exiled Emperor, or over the inanimate remains of that once mighty man, ceased on the part of Great Britain or its Government; but during the twenty-five years that "Saint Helena" and "Napoleon" were words seldom uttered alone, or without an expressed or understood connection with each other, an amount of exaggeration and misrepresentation overwhelmed England and France, and, to the detriment of both, spread into other countries, and strewed the seeds of enmity and hatred on soil only too ready to receive them, and bringing forth in increase the most malignant passions of frail humanity.

That much of the exaggeration was unintended as such—that a great deal of what was written was sent forth in perfect good faith, and with no worse desire than to publish the truth, cannot be denied; for a great deal was written and put forth by men whose honour and integrity were unimpeachable, but who sometimes used stronger forms of expression, and more decided expletives, when recording scenes in which they took an active part, and with which they were intimately connected, than would be thought necessary by one who, as a mere spectator, should calmly note what he saw pass before him.

Obligated to witness for months and years the mental suffering of one who so shortly before had appeared as if gifted with power to bend the world to his sole will, suddenly precipitated from his power and might, great allowance must be made for those who, having almost worshipped this hero in his glory, having with all the devotedness of chivalry thought it an honour above all others to shed their blood in his cause and at his word, and who, having clung to him in his fall, and taken his misfortunes for their own with the same courage and self-denial that characterized their devotion in the field of battle,—great allowance must indeed be made for them if they failed in some instances to coincide with the views of the Government that, with every desire to be just, was compelled to resort to measures which might be construed as harsh or severe. The Government had a duty to perform under a serious responsibility, not only to England, but also to Europe; and in order to maintain in safe custody so important a personage, measures were adopted, the stringency of which were obnoxious to his followers and companions, who would not admit their absolute necessity. Napoleon himself, although much embittered against the Government for what he is said to have called a breach of hospitality that would draw forth the indignation of the world, was much more violent in his remarks upon Sir Hudson Lowe personally, whom he accused of having exceeded the instructions given him by the Government. Two works which, from peculiar sources of information open to their authors, may be considered as most likely to afford a correct account of the kind of intercourse, if it can be so called, which existed between the Governor and Napoleon, are, "A Voice from Saint Helena," by Barry O'Meara, surgeon to Napoleon; and "A History of the Captivity of Napoleon at Saint Helena, from the letters and journals of the late Lieut.-General Sir Hudson Lowe," by William Forsyth, M.A. One of these represents the Governor as having done all he possibly could do to render the position of Napoleon more irksome, more unendurable, in fact, than the most stringent interpretation of the orders from the Home Government could have warranted; and the other is equally positive in recording not merely the desire of the Governor to read and act on his instructions according to the mildest meaning he could extract from them, but that he availed himself of any opportunity that could be obtained of ascertaining and even of anticipating the wishes of the ex-Emperor or his household.

It was, no doubt, the desire of O'Meara to record facts as they presented themselves to him, and on the part of Forsyth to show that the author of the "Voice from Saint Helena" had put forth incorrect statements, resulting from his imperfect observation.

Napoleon arrived at Saint Helena on the 15th of October, 1815; and although it had been understood to be the intention of the British Government that he should continue as a guest of the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, until a suitable residence for him could be found or prepared, the Admiral very justly concluded that, as it might be a work of some time to accomplish that object, considering what were to be the circumstances attending Napoleon's residence in the island, it would be better to land him at once with his suite, and adopt such temporary measures of precaution and security as were available until the arrange-

ments necessary for his proper accommodation could be completed. He was accordingly landed on the 17th, together with his suite of officers and personal attendants, and the wives of some of the party.

He was accompanied by General and Madame Bertrand, and three children; General and Madame Montholon, and two children; Count Las Cases, and his son; General Gourgaud, Captain Protowski, and Dr. O'Meara. He had also eleven male servants, holding various appointments in the household, first and second valets de chambre, first and second stewards, &c., and one female cook. There were also attached to his household one English gardener, twelve soldiers as servants, besides some others; and Generals Bertrand and Montholon were accompanied by their own servants: in all, the establishment consisted of fifty-four or fifty-five persons, including officers and their wives, families, and servants. Immediately on landing Napoleon was conducted to the house before referred to (page 7) as that in which he passed his first night in Saint Helena. Some of his attendant officers, Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, Gourgaud, and O'Meara, with some ladies of their families, and servants, were accommodated in the same house, which was then the property of a Mr. Porteous; the remainder were lodged in other houses in the neighbourhood. During the afternoon and evening some inconvenience arose from the desire of the inhabitants to obtain a personal view of one of whom they had heard so much, and the illustrious object of their curiosity felt much annoyed by the very obtrusive manner in which it was shown.

Early on the following morning he rode out to Longwood to see the place which had been selected as his future *home*; and as the necessary repairs and alterations would require some weeks for completion, he was desirous of escaping from the annoyance of the inhabitants of Jamestown during the interval, and application was made to Mr. Balcombe, the proprietor of the "Briars," before mentioned, for the use, during the preparation of Longwood, of a pavilion attached to the estate, and situated very near the principal building. The request was immediately acceded to, and Napoleon entered at once into possession. It does not even appear that he returned to Jamestown after his visit on that day to Longwood. The pavilion appropriated to his use was, however, too small and inconvenient for the accommodation of any more of his staff than Count Las Cases, who, with his son, occupied one of the two small rooms in the attic over the only room on the ground-floor. The other room in the attic was given up to Marchaud, the Emperor's "premier valet de chambre," and another personal servant; and in the room on the ground-floor he who, but a few months before, could choose for his residence any one of many palaces, now had his camp bed put up, and in one apartment submitted to all the discomforts and inconveniences inseparable from so confined and limited a dwelling. A marquee was erected in front of the pavilion a few days after Napoleon took possession of it, and being divided by a partition into two compartments, his bed was moved into one of them, and General Gourgaud occupied the other. The marquee being connected with the pavilion by a covered way, the extent and condition of the accommodation were much improved; but the pavilion not having been constructed with a view to meet all

the requirements of a *ménage*, many things had to be added to make the place complete. Every attention that could be shown by Mr. Balcombe and his family to alleviate the position of their illustrious guest was freely exercised; and as the daughters, two in number, were well-educated young ladies, and spoke French fluently, Napoleon became much attached to the family, and besides visiting them frequently *en famille*, often amused himself by taking part in the boyish games of Mr. Balcombe's two sons.

The intercourse between the officers of Napoleon's staff with their families, and the inhabitants, was subjected to very few restraints, and to none bearing the appearance of either captiousness or "espionage;" and could the state of things, as they then existed, have been continued, there is every reason to suppose that the few years remaining for Napoleon in this world might have passed away quietly, and if with sad recollections, at least with less of the almost constant chafing that embittered the remainder of his life.

In the course of a few weeks the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, had, by employing the carpenters and other mechanics belonging to his ship, and what small amount of skilled labour the island could supply, so far improved the condition of the house at Longwood, that it was considered to be ready for the reception of its illustrious tenant, and accordingly, on the 9th of December, Napoleon left the hospitable little dwelling he had enjoyed at the Briars, and, accompanied by Count Las Cases and the Count and Countess Montholon, took possession of his dreary abode at Longwood.

It appears that from the first this place was distasteful to him; and there were many and good reasons for his dislike to it. The reflection that in it he was to pass the remainder of his life; that in it he was to be kept by every means of precaution short of force, and by force if judged necessary; that every movement was to be subject to the watchfulness of armed sentinels, and that to escape was next to impossible, would have marred the beauties of the most luxurious abode in the most delightful climate in the world; but, added to the forbidding aspect of the barren ridges and valleys that form some of the attendant features of Longwood, and which, repulsive as they become after the first feeling of their grandeur has subsided, are often hidden from sight by days and weeks of mist and fog, while gusts of cold wind and heavy driving rain chill to the heart any one unfortunate enough to be exposed to their influence, it ceases to be a matter of surprise that the comparison between the small, ill-arranged, and inconvenient house of Longwood, and the dwellings which its future occupant could have chosen for himself, so short a time before, should operate so much to its disadvantage. Some of the officers who attended more immediately on Napoleon were provided with tents, and the Count and Countess Bertrand were lodged in a small house at Hutt's Gate, already spoken of as the Rectory of Longwood parish, in the vicinity of St. Matthew's Church.

Sir George Cockburn had no sooner arranged the details necessary for carrying out the instructions given him respecting the person and household of Napoleon at Longwood, than specific charges were brought forward in letters from Counts Bertrand and Montholon against the

manner in which that most arduous duty was performed, and were firmly met and refuted by him; but causes of complaint regarding scarcity or inferior quality of the articles supplied for the consumption of the numerous body of persons composing the household were immediately attended to, and, to the extent of his ability, remedied and removed. The scale of allowances for the household was liberal, and much more abundant than it could have been supposed possible, when the limited resources of the island were taken into consideration. The precautions taken by Sir George Cockburn for the satisfactory performance of the charge given him for the security of his prisoner were full and complete; but notwithstanding the principle on which they were adopted, their necessity must have been apparent to Napoleon, and he, no doubt, acquiesced tacitly in the arrangements, although protesting against them openly. His time was now generally passed in writing, or dictating for others to write from; reading, or listening to others, who frequently read aloud to him; playing a few games of chess or sometimes whist; taking a little walking or riding exercise, and living, as regarded eating and drinking, a most temperate and moderate life. How long this comparatively quiet state of things might have continued is uncertain, but it is a fact that shortly after the arrival in the island of the new Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, Napoleon's views of all matters connected with his detention in the island became much more clouded, and he inveighed bitterly and loudly against the Government, which had sent him as an exile to a place he had no wish to go to; against the place itself, as one the most unsuited to his bodily and mental requirements; and especially against the Governor sent out to take charge of him. Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Saint Helena on the 14th of April, to succeed Colonel Wilks in the government, which was transferred to him on the following day with the customary forms and ceremonies.

## CHAPTER V.

### SIR HUDSON LOWE'S GOVERNORSHIP.

ONE of Sir Hudson's first acts was to send word to Napoleon that he would call at Longwood on the 16th to pay his respects to him; and early on that day he rode out, accompanied by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, and his personal staff. Unfortunately, the day was very wet and stormy—one of those on which the temper is not improved, either by travelling or staying at home, and which occur in Saint Helena as well as in other places. Sir Hudson arrived at Longwood about nine in the morning, an hour at which it could hardly have been unknown to the Governor that Napoleon was not in the habit of receiving any one. He was told that the Emperor was indisposed, and could not see him, but that on the following day, at any hour between one and five in the afternoon, he would be admitted to an interview. Accordingly on the next day, the

17th, Sir Hudson, accompanied by his staff as on the previous day, arrived at Longwood about four o'clock, and was admitted: but as if it had been arranged by some mischievous imp that the occasion should not be a propitious one, several little circumstances occurred not likely to remove the recollections of the day before.

On "the Governor" being called for by the officer attending on Napoleon, Sir Hudson Lowe rather abruptly entered the apartment in which Napoleon stood waiting to receive him, while the Admiral, who, according to previous arrangement, was to enter with, or perhaps rather before him, in order to present him, not being so quick in his motions, did not reach the door until it had been closed by the attendant, Novarrez, and was then refused admittance. This ought not to have occurred, for, trifling as it might have been under other circumstances, it was so far from being considered unimportant then, that the subject was one of correspondence and personal interviews for two or three days afterwards; and so contradictory are the reports given by the most eminent authorities on the affair as to the part taken by or approved of by Napoleon in connection with it, that it is difficult—impossible, indeed—to decide whether it was accidental or otherwise. Thus Las Cases says in his "Journal, Avril 17, 1816," that "Napoleon was delighted with the promptitude of Novarrez in shutting the door in the face of the Admiral." Montholon, in his "Récits," p. 244, vol. i., states that the oversight of the valet had vexed him, and that he requested his regret for the circumstance to be communicated to Sir George Cockburn. O'Meara relates a conversation the Emperor held with him on the subject, which throws but little light on the part Napoleon had actually taken in what he nevertheless appears to have considered an insult to the Admiral.

Sir Hudson's interview was not a very satisfactory one to himself, nor was it calculated to produce favourable impressions in the mind of Napoleon, who, how much soever his fortunes had fallen, or however prejudiced his opinions might be as to the respect which should be shown him, could not or would not divest himself of the idea that he who had been an Emperor, and *such* an Emperor, was still to be treated as holding that exalted position. The conversation during the interview appears, from the account given of it by Sir Hudson Lowe, to have been on general topics most carefully removed from the subject which at the moment occupied the minds of both; and it is extremely probable that a little relaxation of reserve on the one side, or a little more suavity on the other, might have paved the way for a better feeling than that which was from that day implanted in the mind of each one towards the other. It is true that Sir Hudson Lowe states in a memorandum respecting this interview, that "the result of it was in no degree unsatisfactory, or the cause of any misunderstanding with Bonaparte;" but besides the probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that "the effect of first impressions" might safely be applied to the first interview between two such men as Napoleon and Sir Hudson, situated as they were with respect to each other, several circumstances might be referred to in subsequent occurrences to show that the first interview, although it lasted for only about fifteen minutes, influenced the mind of at least one of the two parties. A few days afterwards a circumstance occurred not at all likely to remove any unfavour-



able impressions which might have been created in the mind of Napoleon or of his companions. This was the receipt of a document from the Governor, a translation, it seemed, of instructions which had been sent to him from England, to the effect that those members of the suite and domestic establishment of Napoleon Bonaparte who wished to return to Europe might do so, but that those who preferred remaining at Saint Helena must sign a declaration, to be deposited with the Governor, that they were willing to be placed under the same restrictions which it might be considered necessary to adopt towards Napoleon Bonaparte personally.

The principal grievance to Napoleon in this document was probably the designation "Napoleon Bonaparte" applied in it to him, and as it appeared, *studiedly* a second time. If he considered the question at all, he must have foreseen the difficulties it would create to style him Emperor, as the recognition of his claim to that title would have necessarily involved very serious considerations as to his safe custody, and the manner in which to treat him in all the relations of such a novel phase of life for a crowned head. On that point, however, it seems he was very positive, and frequently complained of his degradation, as he is said to have termed it, as an act of tyranny. The officers of his suite were annoyed at the tenor of the document they were requested to sign, no doubt in conformity with Napoleon's ideas, and with the document itself, as being something such as they had not been accustomed to, and implying a doubt of their devotedness to their chief,—no small matter to men of high and honourable feelings, and possessed of keenly sensitive minds, occupied by one object to the exclusion of nearly all others. A modified assent was given to the request conveyed in the Governor's message, by a paper being drawn up in which the parties who signed it declared their intention of continuing "in the service of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, however frightful remaining in Saint Helena might be, and of submitting to whatever unjust and arbitrary restrictions had been placed over his Majesty, and the persons in his service." This paper was ultimately signed by nearly the whole of the officers and servants, and transmitted to the Governor—but by Count Montholon only after some hesitation; and he as well as Count Las Cases, Count Bertrand, and Baron Gourgaud, subsequently wrote special declarations to a similar effect, and forwarded them to the Governor, who accepted them in their modified form, but reported the circumstance to England. Shortly after this occurrence the Governor received a message from the orderly officer, who had had directions to assure himself by personal observation, twice each day, of the actual presence of Napoleon, that he had not succeeded on the previous day (29th April) in seeing General Bonaparte, and Sir Hudson Lowe rode over to Longwood to make inquiries on the spot. He found, on arriving there, that Napoleon had been unwell on the previous day, and that he was still suffering, but on being informed that Sir Hudson was there, he consented to see him.

The Governor was then conducted by Count Montholon into the bedroom of Napoleon, whom he found evidently in pain and much disturbed. He conversed on several subjects, and commented on his treatment by the allies, and particularly by England, accusing the Government of cruelty. He then introduced the subject of Longwood as a place of

residence, and complained of the insufficiency of the space appropriated for his exercise; expressed much dissatisfaction with the orders and regulations established by the Governor respecting his being accompanied by an officer, and introduced other matters which had irritated and vexed him. Still his manner does not appear to have been so abrupt on this as on subsequent occasions, but he was like one feeling his way, trying to make himself sure of the probable effect of such a line of conduct as would be most in accordance with his own thoughts.

Some unpleasant correspondence took place, soon after this interview, between the Governor and Count Bertrand, on restrictions which had in the first place been imposed by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, and subsequently revived; for there had been some little relaxation, either purposely as an experiment, or by accident, by Sir Hudson Lowe, on three special subjects, and the result of the discussion was the establishment of those points as follows:—

1. That General Bonaparte should indicate twice daily to the officer appointed for the purpose his actual presence at the house, either by personal interview or other certain means.

2. All communication between the members of Napoleon's household and the merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen of Jamestown was prohibited, except through the medium of a third person, appointed or approved of by the Governor; and

3. That no person should be permitted to an interview with Napoleon, except by previous permission from the Governor.

On the 11th of May the Governor issued a proclamation, warning the inhabitants that no person was to take to, or receive from, any member whomsoever of Napoleon's suite or servants, any letter or written communication of any sort, as all correspondence with Napoleon or his household must pass through his, the Governor's, hands. At this time Count Bertrand occupied the house at Hutt's Gate, before mentioned, and several officers of the 53rd Regiment, stationed at Deadwood, were in the habit of visiting the Count and Countess at their residence; but their visits gradually ceased, owing as it was said to the annoyance they felt at their names being included in the report sent to the Governor daily by the officer in command at that post, and at the apparent expectation that they should repeat to the Governor, or to Sir Thomas Reade, the subjects of conversation held during those visits. About the same time the Countess of Moira, wife of the Governor-General of India, arrived at Saint Helena on her passage to England, and remained for a few days at Plantation House. The Governor, anxious to gratify her wish to see Napoleon, sent a polite note to Count Bertrand, requesting the honour of General Bonaparte's going to Plantation to dinner, for the purpose of meeting the Countess: to this invitation Napoleon vouchsafed no reply. Matters of more or less importance, some of them trifling indeed, now became almost daily occurrences tending to widen the breach between the two chief actors in this most fatiguing and painful drama, and it can hardly be a matter of surprise that so shortly afterwards as the middle of August, an open rupture between the Governor and Napoleon put an end to any hopes or wishes either might up to that time have entertained, of the possibility of any mutual understanding being established, by which

the responsibility of the one, and the restrictions considered necessary for the other, might be harmonized, so as to alleviate both or either of them. Prior to that, however, Napoleon might be said to have been fairly lodged at Longwood, with such precautions for his safe custody in force, as had been judged suitable and necessary by two persons of high rank, who cannot be suspected of personal hatred to one whom they had never seen, nor with whom they had ever held personal intercourse, before the events which placed him in their charge as something to be carefully and jealously preserved and guarded. Personal feeling of any kind, certainly anything approaching to a desire to render his painful position more galling, can only be attributed to either of them by a prejudiced mind: incompatibility of temper may have been an obstacle to the constant anxiety of the guardian being for a moment relieved, and to the privileges of the captive being increased, but whatever may have been the opportunities afforded for any improvement in their position towards each other, none took place.

The limits within which Napoleon was permitted to walk or ride alone, or accompanied by his staff, comprised an area of about twelve miles in circumference, on the nearest approach to level ground in the island, and included the Longwood and Deadwood estates. On the latter was situated the camp of the 53rd Regiment, and beyond that limit he was to be accompanied by an officer, and sentinels at the various outposts were so stationed that he was under the observation of one or more of them, while the signal-keepers at the different telegraph stations were in constant communication with each other and with head-quarters, as to his movements when he had passed the line of sentries who guarded the limit or boundary. The officer who attended him on these occasions was directed to keep at a certain distance from him, so as not to annoy him by *seeming* to watch any expression either of voice or countenance, but not to lose sight of him, or be out of hearing if he called to him. An officer's guard was posted at the entrance to Longwood, and one at Hutt's Gate, near the residence of Count Bertrand. In the evening, the sentries on the limit or boundary were brought nearer to the house, and placed so near each other that no person could pass them, either to or from the house, without being seen; and after 9 o'clock, Napoleon was not allowed to leave the house unless accompanied by a field-officer.

His household consisted at this time of Count and Countess Montholon and two children, General Gourgaud, Count Las Cases, and his son, all of whom, with some fifteen or sixteen servants, were inmates of the house. Captain Poppleton, the officer in command of the guard, Doctor O'Meara, and three servants, were lodged in tents, and some twenty out-door servants, gardeners, grooms, &c., were stationed in small outbuildings in the immediate vicinity of the house. Count Bertrand, with the Countess, three children, and servants, occupied the house at Hutt's Gate. The expense of maintaining this establishment was estimated at first at £8,000 per annum, but that sum being found insufficient, a further expenditure of £4,000 was sanctioned; yet some months after the increased amount had been adopted, complaints were made of its insufficiency, and a quantity of plate belonging to Napoleon was broken

up, and with some ostentation sent for sale, to defray, as was said, the expenses of providing food which the inmates of Longwood had been compelled to purchase. With an allowance of £12,000 per annum, a very large family should, even in Saint Helena, be free from danger of starvation.

## CHAPTER VI.

### ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE EMPEROR'S ACCOMMODATION—HIS ILLNESS AND DEATH.

THE Government having, at an early period after Napoleon's being sent to Saint Helena, decided on providing for him a more commodious residence than the house at Longwood, and the island not possessing the materials or mechanical skill necessary for the construction of such a building, it was decided that the greater portion of it, to consist of wood, should be prepared in England and sent out to the island; and the necessary framework, or the greater portion of it, together with a large quantity of furniture, arrived in May, 1816. Sir Hudson Lowe waited on Napoleon for the purpose of informing him of the arrival of these articles, and of ascertaining his wishes with regard to the manner in which they should be appropriated, as the materials for the building had been so prepared in England as to admit of their being erected to form one distinct and commodious house; or they might be applied to form additions to the house then in use, with the view of increasing the accommodation for the household in a shorter time than by adopting the first proposal. The interview was of a most unpleasant kind, and Sir Hudson left the room without having obtained the information he had gone for, and without having been allowed to present to Napoleon an officer whom he had taken with him for the purpose—Major-General Wynyard. The erection of the new residence was therefore indefinitely postponed, and that interview was the last which took place between the Governor and Napoleon.

The house was afterwards erected as a separate and distinct establishment from that occupied by Napoleon, and being constructed with due regard to the comfort and requirements of a large family accustomed to the luxuries and refinements of rank and fortune, may be fairly said to have been suited to the purpose intended. The completion of the building, however, occupied a considerable length of time, and even had it been sooner completed, it is doubtful whether Napoleon would have occupied it. He did not in reality wish for any external or open improvement in his position short of absolute freedom to go where he pleased in the island, and at such times and in such a manner as he might choose. It was more in accordance with the gloomy disposition in which he sometimes indulged, and towards which he was unfortunately drawn by the tone of some of his companions, to consider himself a martyr, and in letting it be seen that he was so, to take care that none

of the tortures of his martyrdom 'should be evaded through any complicity with his tormentors. A circumstance connected with the new building occurred which evinced how determined Napoleon was to cavil at even imaginary grievances. A large space of ground, intended for a flower garden, or an ornamental addition to the premises, was marked out in front of the new house, and, in accordance with universal custom, was enclosed, in order to separate it from the open plain; but Napoleon no sooner saw the iron fencing which was being put up for this purpose, than he declared it was intended as an additional means of securing his person, and another infringement of the already too limited privileges he possessed. The Governor ordered the fencing to be removed; but before this could be done, the state of Napoleon's health had become impaired, and the obnoxious railing is still in existence,—its construction, and appearance generally, dispelling in a moment the idea of any other purpose than that of separating the garden from the open field, and forming the enclosure of the premises on that side.

In addition to the annoyances to which Napoleon was subjected, inseparable from the position in which he was placed, and to those which he thought or professed to believe aggravations of his unfortunate condition, his little court now began to contribute their share by getting up domestic squabbles, and, when new causes of coolness were not immediately available, falling back on those of former times. It was, however, less a matter of surprise than of regret that a few persons, compelled to live together, and secluded from the rest of the world, should after a time become irritable and easily dissatisfied. The Generals Montholon and Bertrand had at some former period differed on certain matters, and their devotion and love for their master did not lead to any amicable personal intercourse between themselves. The coolness between the Generals extended to their families, and, beyond a mere formal call, the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon seldom met each other more often than two or three times in a year. General Gourgaud was also embroiled with Montholon, and at length became so uncomfortable, that in 1818 he requested permission to retire from the suite of Napoleon, and returned to Europe.

This last step was probably owing to some misunderstanding between Napoleon and the General, or rather to a want of that diplomacy on the part of Gourgaud which Montholon is said to have possessed in an eminent degree. Gourgaud is believed to have held a more liberal opinion as to the policy of the English Government in detaining Napoleon at Saint Helena, and also of the proceedings adopted by the Governor in order to carry out the instructions given him for effectually securing the object of that policy.

Unfortunately for himself, Gourgaud did not or could not prevent some suspicion arising among his *compagnons* of such being the case: he must have been a most consummate hypocrite to have done so in a small society in which such a subject was sure to be most jealously watched. It is stated that Gourgaud became so disgusted with the manner of General Montholon towards himself in consequence, that he wrote a challenge to him; but the dispute, which had previously been made known to Napoleon, had by that time become so serious that he interfered between the parties, and

enforced an obedience to the forms of order and tranquillity. Some argument occurred between Napoleon and Gourgaud shortly afterwards on the subject of one of the Emperor's campaigns, in the course of which the General was candid enough to express his disapprobation of the course taken by the Emperor in pretty plain terms. This rather annoyed Napoleon, and for some two or three weeks he neither saw nor communicated with General Gourgaud, who soon afterwards left the island. Towards the close of the year 1817, Napoleon's health began to suffer from the confined mode of life he had followed for some time. He had absolutely refused to take the amount of exercise necessary for maintaining his usual robust health, and he had declared his intention of confining himself to his own apartments, rather than walk or ride out under the surveillance of an English officer; and this determination could only partially, and then with difficulty, be overruled. His life became monotonous and irksome, and but for the little excitements attendant upon preserving the appearances of good feeling among his now somewhat divided followers, and maintaining the observances of courtly ceremony and formality from his household generally toward himself, he would in all probability have sunk into melancholy and apathy.

He did not, however, pass his time in idleness, even when dependent on himself for employment. Immediately after rising—which was at no regular hour, as he retired to rest at ten or half-past, and usually arose on finding himself refreshed with sleep, without regard to the hour—he would pass an hour or perhaps more in dictating, for General Montholon, or sometimes some other of his attendant Generals, certain portions of his former career. If the weather permitted, he would walk outside the house for a short time. About ten o'clock he breakfasted—sometimes alone, sometimes with one or more members of his suite. Reading or dictating occupied some hours, and with little deviation or relief from the usual daily routine, the hour of eight in the evening arrived, and he met at dinner such of the members of his suite, male and female, as had been notified to attend. The evening usually passed pleasantly; some one was requested to read aloud; then some games of chess or cards followed; conversation, the topic being chosen by himself, became general and unrestrained, and about the usual hour he retired to his bedroom. Sometimes, when not disposed for falling to sleep immediately, his favourite valet, Marchand, read to him until he dropped off to sleep. He was very particular in the observance, by himself and all about him, of strict attention to the minutiae of the toilette, and in his person and clothing scrupulously clean and particular. His dress consisted in the morning of a white or light-coloured dressing gown and loose trousers, and after breakfast of a green uniform coat, very plainly made, white breeches, silk stockings, and light thin shoes, the ribbon and cross of the legion of honour, his hat invariably the rather odd-looking triangular shape, worn across the head.

The removal of Count Las Cases and his son from Longwood, in consequence of the Governor having discovered that Las Cases had sent some letters by a private conveyance to Europe, and the deportation of the Count to the Cape of Good Hope, did not appear to call forth the expressions of disapproval of the measure which might have been

expected from the inmates of Longwood, although the loss must have been felt by Napoleon. Possibly the fact of the Count being a civilian may have influenced the members of Napoleon's suite, who were all with that exception military men; and even with Napoleon himself there can be little doubt that a valuable and attached follower would be still more highly valued if, in addition to his capabilities with the pen, he also possessed those for the sword. Las Cases left Saint Helena on the 30th of December, 1816, in the *Griffon* sloop of war. From the beginning of the year 1818, or, in fact, from the month of November previous, when he first complained of the symptoms of disease, Napoleon's health declined, gradually and slowly but surely, and it is difficult to avoid the thought that his obstinate refusal to take proper exercise, though so urgently persuaded by his medical attendant to do so, may have led to the firm seating of the disease which, by a due regard to the advice of his physician, might have been prevented or certainly retarded. In July, 1818, a letter was written by the Governor to Dr. O'Meara, informing him that, in accordance with instructions which had been received from England, his duties as physician to Napoleon were immediately to cease, and directing him to leave Longwood immediately, and hold himself in readiness to return to England. O'Meara at first determined to disobey the order, disputing the validity of the authority; but shortly afterwards, seeing the uselessness of opposition, he had his baggage and effects packed up, while he himself had an interview with Napoleon, and immediately afterwards took his departure from Longwood. That interview was in open violation of the orders he had received—"to leave Longwood without holding any further communication whatever with its inmates;" but this O'Meara represents as having been to him impossible. That he could leave Napoleon, in the precarious state of his health at the time, without giving him instructions or advice respecting remedies, diet, &c., was not to be thought of, and the only alternative was disobedience of orders. Dr. O'Meara was provided with a passage to England in the sloop of war *Griffon*, and left Saint Helena on the 2nd of August, 1818. A surgeon attached to the artillery force stationed at Saint Helena, Dr. Verling, was appointed to attend on Napoleon, and proceeded to Longwood for that purpose; but Napoleon declined to see him. He remained, however, as an inmate of the establishment.

In January, 1819, Napoleon's state of health assumed more unfavourable symptoms; an attack of vertigo was so serious that Mr. Stokoe, surgeon of the *Conqueror*, then at anchor in the roads, was sent for to see and prescribe for him, as he persisted in his refusal to allow Dr. Verling to visit him. Count Montholon made an application to the Governor to be allowed to retain Mr. Stokoe for some days at Longwood, and a proposition was also made from the same quarter for Mr. Stokoe to be permanently appointed physician to Napoleon, but Admiral Plampin saw objections to the proposal, and Mr. Stokoe shortly afterwards went to England. In July, 1819, the Countess Montholon left Saint Helena on account of ill-health, to return to Europe: the fact of her departure very much affected Napoleon, who was much attached to her. In order to obviate the difficulties which might arise in the event of sudden attacks of illness, and with reference to Napoleon's continued determination not to

consult Dr. Verling, the principal medical officer, Dr. Arnott, was ordered to hold himself in readiness to attend on Napoleon immediately on any call for his services; but some little difficulty arose from Dr. Arnott declining to sign or consent to certain conditions submitted to him by Count Bertrand. An application having been made by Cardinal Fesch, Napoleon's uncle, to the Pope praying that a priest might be sent out to Napoleon, was complied with to a fuller extent than had been asked, and two clergymen were appointed by the Pope to proceed to Saint Helena, to be attached to the household of Napoleon—one was the Abbé Bonavita, who had formerly been confessor to Napoleon's mother, and the other was an abbé named Vignali. The same vessel also brought out a surgeon selected by Cardinal Fesch to attend on Napoleon—Professor Antommarchi. They arrived at Saint Helena on the 20th of September, 1819. Some other persons destined for subordinate offices in the household were also sent out in the same vessel. Shortly after the arrival of the newly appointed medical attendant, Dr. Verling, who had resided at Longwood for somewhat over a year, without, however, having had a single interview with its principal occupant, left the island. A great change in Napoleon's habits now took place; instead of confining himself entirely to his own apartments, or to the interior of the house, he began to amuse himself by working in the garden, not merely superintending the operation as it might be done by the gardeners attached to the establishment, but vigorously using pickaxe and spade himself, and encouraging by his example the members of his suite to assist in forming flower-beds in one part, vegetable-beds in another, in a third an embankment to screen some favourite spot, or an excavation to conduct the water for irrigating some spot more dry than was expedient. An old man who lately died in Jamestown, and from whose recollections of Napoleon at Longwood a volume might be written, used to relate very humorously the difficulties of the smartly dressed marshals, who sallied forth from the house on the garden visits, one on each side of their august chief, each carrying his cocked hat under one arm, when, on arriving at the destined spot, Napoleon calmly handed a pickaxe to one, a shovel to a second, and intimidated by a wave of his hand the position of the proposed embankment. The ruling passion, however, had not entirely given way to or been lost in this temporary *furor* for gardening—Cincinnatus had not quite completed the ploughshare at the cost of his sword—and the little garden mounds soon became models of parapets and breastworks, on both sides of which he illustrated, in a small way, to his attendants the theory of attack and defence,—to-day designing and constructing, with deep thought and fixed attention, a means of defence which should puzzle an invading force most awfully, and to-morrow, with a cheerful countenance and unwonted gaiety of manner, showing how he would demolish it in a few minutes. These and other similar sallies, which took rather by surprise those who had known Napoleon in his sterner moods, must have appeared to some, who could look on as impartial observers, as the fitful flashing of the lamp which has nearly consumed its oil; and between this time and his last and fatal attack, much of the fixedness and determination of the former Emperor subsided, giving way to vacillation and irresolution, which at times must have been very trying to his companions and attendants.



In April, 1821, his disease had assumed alarming symptoms, and Dr. Arnott, who had been admitted by Napoleon to a consultation with Dr. Antommarchi in his own apartment, wrote to the Governor his opinion of the critical state of the illustrious invalid. On the 5th of May, after a severe struggle, which had lasted for several days, and in the course of which the fluctuations of the disease were such as on several occasions to raise hopes of his rallying from the attack, Napoleon breathed his last.

On the previous day, a storm of wind and rain had set in, which increased in violence on the 5th; many trees were blown down—a most unusual occurrence in Saint Helena—and it is probable the dying man's last moments were influenced by the noise of the storm, which suggested to his fading mind the strife of battle: his last words were "*tête d'armée*." A *post mortem* examination was made on the 6th, which revealed the cause of his death, and of the protracted suffering he had endured; the stomach was almost entirely ulcerated. On the 8th, the mortal remains of Napoleon were carried to the valley in which he had been accustomed to sit and read near a small spring which he had himself discovered in one of his walks, and from which the water for his personal use at table was daily carried up by some of the servants. A grave was prepared, and with the usual military honours paid to officers of high rank, the coffin was deposited therein, and its inviolability secured by large blocks of stone cramped and joined together by bars of iron run with lead. On the 12th of May, the will of Napoleon was opened, in the presence of the Governor and Counts Bertrand and Montholon; Sir Thomas Reade and Major Gorrequer were also present. All the papers, consisting of correspondence, notes written and dictated by himself, memoranda, and miscellaneous documents, were examined at the same time. By his will Napoleon disposed of large sums of money to his officers and favourite servants and attendants; the amount of these legacies was about six millions of francs, or £240,000 of English money.

In addition to these bequests, he also left directions, written with his own hand, and sealed, respecting the disposal of his private domain, which he estimated at two hundred millions of francs. A large quantity of jewels, plate, arms, and other property, which remained at Longwood at the period of his death, he left to Counts Montholon and Bertrand, and his principal valet Marchand. On the 27th of May, 1821, the Count and Countess Bertrand, Count Montholon, Dr. Antommarchi and the Abbé Vignali, together with the servants and domestic establishment of the late household, left Saint Helena in the store-vessel *Camel*, and the exile of Napoleon became an event of the past.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE EXHUMATION OF THE REMAINS OF NAPOLEON, AND THEIR REMOVAL TO FRANCE.

THIS interesting event took place in the year 1840. The French Government having applied to Great Britain for its sanction to the mortal remains of the late Emperor being removed, with the view of their being deposited in the "Hôtel des Invalides," the request was immediately complied with, and on the 8th of July, 1840, an intimation to that effect was received by the Governor, Major-General Middlemore: every facility which the island would afford for conducting the proceedings in a becoming manner was to be placed at the command of the officer selected by the French Government to superintend the important service. The Prince de Joinville, third son of Louis Philippe, King of the French, was the officer on whom this distinguished duty was conferred, and on the 8th of October, 1840, the French frigate *Belle Poule*, commanded by his Royal Highness, and accompanied by the corvette *Favorite*, Captain Guyet, arrived at Saint Helena.

Several ships had been signalled during the week or two preceding the arrival of the *Belle Poule*, as being probably the expected vessels, and among them were some French men-of-war, on board of one of which some of the authorities of the place proceeded, under the impression that it must be the one so intently and earnestly expected, to pay their respects to his Royal Highness, but the vessel proved to be the *Cornaline*, Captain Desfosses. The *Oreste*, Captain Doret, also arrived on the day previous to that on which the *Belle Poule* anchored, the captain having been despatched by Admiral de Mackau, from Goree, with letters for his Royal Highness.

Shortly before the frigate came to anchor, Captain Alexander, Commanding Royal Engineer, Town Major Barnes, and Captain Middlemore, A.D.C. to his Excellency the Governor, accompanied by S. Solomon, Esq., French Consular Agent, H. Janisch, Esq., and some officers of the British brig of war *Dolphin*, went on board, and were very politely received by his Royal Highness. The customary salutes were exchanged between the men-of-war and the batteries on shore, and on the following day his Royal Highness, accompanied by General Bertrand, General Gourgaud, Count Chabot, Baron Las Cases, M. Arthur Bertrand, and several officers of the vessels of war, landed at the steps, where he was received by Colonel Trelawney, the senior officer of the garrison, representing his Excellency the Governor, who was prevented by severe indisposition from attending personally.

Colonel Trelawney was attended by the military and civil officers of the station; and a guard of honour, consisting of 100 men of the 91st Regiment, under the command of Captain Blackwell, was on the spot for the reception of his Royal Highness.

After a short stay at the castle, the Prince and his suite, accompanied by the principal military officers of the garrison, proceeded to Plantation, and his Royal Highness having been admitted to a short interview with his Excellency the Governor, the party proceeded to the tomb. The scene must have been a solemn and most touching one. Bertrand and Gourgaud were much affected; so also was Marchand, who had arrived, it should have been mentioned, in the *Favorite*, to witness the removal of the remains of his former master and friend. The Prince, accompanied by the French and English officers, then went on to Longwood, and the emotions of the veteran followers of Napoleon may be imagined, when they beheld the spot endeared to them by associations which imparted to it in their estimation a character approaching to something sacred.

The buildings, or the greater portion, were still there, but in a very dilapidated condition; the rooms in which their illustrious master had passed nearly five years of his life were now sheds for farming implements, and the apartment in which he breathed his last a mill for threshing or winnowing grain; cattle sheds and piggeries made up the remainder of the farming establishment into which Longwood had been converted.

During the next day or two, the preparations which had been commenced for the disinterment and removal of the body were completed; they consisted chiefly in the construction of a very strong hearse, for the conveyance of the heavy coffins, and in preparing and transporting to the tomb the necessary tools and apparatus for raising the immense stone slabs which had been placed in the grave at the time of its construction. The hearse was suitably decorated with the best materials to be had in the island, consisting of black satin, fine black cloth, and crape. On Monday, the 12th, the sarcophagus, which had been prepared in France, was landed from the frigate. It consisted of a beautifully made coffin of highly polished ebony, with "Napoleon" in massy gold letters on the cover; inside of it was a lead coffin, half an inch in thickness, and the whole was placed in an outer case of oak, strongly secured by heavy iron bars and fastenings.

At half an hour after midnight on the 14th and 15th of October, the day on which, twenty-five years before, Napoleon arrived at Saint Helena, the operations necessary for his disinterment were commenced: the work was very unfavourable; the rain falling in torrents rendered the labour of excavating and removing the materials with which the grave had been filled and enclosed very difficult and laborious.

At a little after nine o'clock, the heavy stone slab which had been placed over the coffin was raised, and shortly afterwards the coffin itself was lifted and carefully conveyed to a tent prepared for its reception, where it was opened, and the body of Napoleon, little changed in appearance, was eagerly gazed on by those who, twenty years before, prepared, as they then thought, his last resting-place. The body having been fully identified, the coffins were again closed, and deposited within the magnificent sarcophagus which had been brought out for the purpose, the key of which was then formally handed over by Captain Alexander to Count Chabot, after locking the cover. The procession then started from the tomb, the guns in town and on board the frigate firing at intervals of a minute until

the arrival of the hearse in the town. The whole of the garrison, including the local militia, were under arms in the procession, and every possible mark of respect which could be shown by the inhabitants, as well as the Government and military authorities, was evinced on the occasion. His Excellency the Governor, who had partly recovered from his late illness, then completed the British Government's part of the proceedings of the day, by formally delivering to his Royal Highness the Prince de Joinville the remains of the late Emperor.

The sarcophagus was lowered into a barge and conveyed on board the frigate, where it was placed on the deck, under a canopy, and remained there until the following day.

On the morning of the 16th the sarcophagus was lowered from the upper to the gun deck of the frigate, and deposited in the chapel, which had been fitted up for its reception prior to the *Belle Poule* leaving France. This chapel was a space partitioned off from the deck, and appropriately fitted up for the purpose for which it was intended. The interior dimensions were about ten feet in length, eight in width, and six in height; the sides and roof were hung with black velvet, richly studded with silver stars, which not only imparted a still and solemn gorgeousness to the character of the decorations, but added to the effect of the candelabra by which the chapel was lighted, by the continually changing reflection of those lights, caused by the motion of the vessel. The ceremony of high mass was very impressively performed by the Abbé Coquereau in the presence of his Royal Highness, the officers of the French vessels of war then at anchor in the roads, the French consular agent, and some other gentlemen, and during the remainder of the day the *Belle Poule* was crowded with visitors, who were most courteously and hospitably received by the officers of the ship, and at this day the affability of his Royal Highness the Prince is spoken of by many residents of Saint Helena who experienced it on that occasion.

Before leaving Saint Helena his Royal Highness gave some very handsome and appropriate presents to the officers who had assisted in the proceedings connected with his mission to the island, and also gave a considerable sum of money to be divided amongst the workmen who had been employed, and another for certain charitable societies existing in the island. On the 18th of October the *Belle Poule* and her consort, the *Favorite*, got under weigh and left the island for France. The *Oreste* made sail at the same time for her station on the coast of South America. A very handsome flag, composed of silk and crape, had been made by some ladies of the island, and was hoisted on board the barge which conveyed the remains of the Emperor on board the *Belle Poule*; it was also hoisted at the mast-head of the frigate, and waved there daily during the voyage to France.

In concluding this narrative of the events connected with the removal of the remains of the illustrious exile, this flag may be again referred to. In a late review of a work by Guizot, entitled "Memoirs of a Minister of State," the reviewer says, "The transference of the corpse from the *Belle Poule* to the *Normandie*, in the presence of the military and naval forces of Cherbourg; the departure of the *Normandie* for Havre with the French flag floating from the mainmast,—a flag embroidered by the

English ladies of Saint Helena, and presented by them to the Prince de Joinville, who promised that it should wave over the coffin until Paris was reached,—and the passage up the Seine, between banks crowded with a population eager to witness the funeral procession, are successively put before the reader with admirable art."

## CHAPTER VIII.

### LONGWOOD AS IT WAS AND AS IT IS.

IT has been stated in the narrative of the exhumation of Napoleon that the French officers, on arriving at Longwood, beheld the apartments which had been the residence of their august master used as granaries and farm-buildings, and they no doubt considered such a conversion as little short of desecration or sacrilege. The fault, however, if any existed, attached itself to no individual; it was simply the result of circumstances. Longwood estate had been leased to a company, who took it as a commercial speculation, and in matters of *business* (a word not easily defined), romance, or other finer feelings of human nature or human culture find no abiding-place; and it is more than probable that not only the house in which Napoleon lived and died, but the Temple of King Solomon himself, if it now existed, would be converted into a barn or a piggery, if no more remunerative purpose to which its speculative proprietors could apply it were apparent. The buildings were in bad condition for want of the constant repairs necessary to preserve them. The roofs admitted rain in many parts; the doors and windows were loose and off their hinges; the glass broken in every direction; the floors fast yielding to the destroying agencies of storm, wind, and rain, and the accumulation of dirt and filth from the purposes to which the buildings had been applied. The interior decorations, the paper on the walls, the paint and fitments generally, had rotted away, and it was evident that in a few short years the former residence of Napoleon would share the fate of many nobler structures.

Still in its sinking state it was visited, and worshipped as a holy shrine would be, by numbers of French and other passengers calling at the island; and the walls were almost covered with the names and initials of hundreds of visitors, some of whom had recorded their ideas and opinions under the influence, it would almost appear, in some instances, of a very potent spirit (of enthusiasm, no doubt), and in terms the reverse of complimentary to all concerned in the then degraded condition of the premises.

It is to be remembered that at the period of Napoleon's arrival in Saint Helena the island was under the control of the then mighty East India Company, and the detention of Napoleon in Saint Helena became the subject of an agreement between the British Government and the Company, in virtue of which Longwood and other properties became for a time the leasehold property of the Imperial Government. At the

departure of Sir Hudson Lowe in 1821, shortly after the death of Napoleon, the Company resumed their rights in respect to those properties, and gave a lease of them for farming purposes, as has been stated.

In 1836 Major-General Middlemore arrived in Saint Helena (the East India Company's title to its control having expired some three years before), and took formal possession of the island in the name of his Majesty King William the Fourth, and assumed immediately the functions of Governor of the island.

Longwood does not appear to have attracted much notice from any but the visitors who landed for a few hours from ships touching at the island, until the year 1858, when the negotiations between the French and British Governments, with respect to the cession of the spot on which the tomb is situated, and the Old House of Longwood, with a small portion of ground attached to it, ended in the two localities becoming French property, and being enrolled among the *domaines* of Napoleon the Third. The immediate renovation of the Old House—the New House and ground on which it was built not being included in the transfer—to its pristine state, and the due preservation of the tomb, became now the subject of a special vote by the Legislative Body and Senate of France; and an officer of high rank and distinguished service in the army, who had served under the great chief himself, was selected for the office of “Guardian of the Residence and of the Tomb of the Emperor Napoleon the First.”

This officer, the Baron Gauthier de Rougemont, having arrived in Saint Helena, reported on the condition of the buildings, and in 1859 Captain Masselin and Lieutenant Marechal, of the French Engineer Corps, were ordered to proceed to Saint Helena, with a suitable staff of mechanics, in order to commence the necessary repairs and renovations. They arrived on the 1st of March in the same year. It is unnecessary to say more with regard to the manner in which those repairs and renovations were executed, than that so earnest and decided were the officers to whom the service had been entrusted to restore, in its most minute particulars, the former residence of Napoleon to the condition in which it was maintained during his lifetime, that they sent to France for papering to be procured for the rooms and passages of similar pattern and texture to what had originally been placed on them when being prepared for his reception.

This they were fortunately enabled to do by pattern pieces of each kind of paper having been preserved by a gentleman living in Jamestown. The restoration of the place was completely carried out, and the officers, with their attendant staff of artisans, having fulfilled their mission, left Saint Helena on the 31st of December, 1860, to return to France. It is, no doubt, a subject of regret that the necessity for so complete a renewal or for such extensive repairs should have existed, and thousands of visitors to Longwood Old House have cursed in the bitterness of their heart a Government which could allow the necessity to arise; but those visitors were not in every case—or perhaps in more than a very small proportion indeed, especially amongst foreigners, to whom the remark is intended principally to apply—correctly informed as to the real condition

of things existing in connection with what was called "the Honourable the East India Company." Such an anomaly never before existed, or to an extent approaching to the condition of that Company, at least, and in all human probability never will again. A purely commercial enterprise in the first instance, corresponding to any joint-stock company of the present day, the extraordinary privileges granted to that Company enabled them to raise a standing army, to dispute the sovereignty of the Indian seas with their navy, and, as a convenient watering-place for their ships, to hold the island of Saint Helena as their own, and to exercise the rights of possession and government therein, with no responsibility except to themselves. The estate of Longwood was therefore the property of that Company; and as commercial men or a joint-stock company would probably do under similar circumstances, they made the most they could of their property; and as a live pig, or a new and improved mill, were considered more profitable than the memory of a dead monarch, the Company acted accordingly, and declined spending money on buildings already more than sufficient for the accommodation of farming stock.

The complaints against the Government are therefore without foundation, as the whole and sole control of the estate was vested in the Company, until it became the property of the Government, when the buildings were so far gone to decay that much more than mere repairs would have been necessary to put them into anything like their former condition, and although the Government might have *maintained* the house in which Napoleon had lived and died in its former condition, if handed over so to them, especially as the elements of pig-keeping and corn-grinding would have had no influence in that case, yet it could hardly be expected that a large sum of money would be appropriated to *restore* those buildings from a state approaching to ruin, and the natural result was the condition in which they were found by the French expedition in 1840.

## CHAPTER IX.

### ROCK ROSE, CAISSON'S GATE, AND EGG ISLAND.

WE have as yet considered the traveller, for whose service and assistance these few pages are written, as having only sufficient time to pay a visit to the chief point of attraction in the island, and have conducted him by the most direct road to Jamestown, to the tomb, and to Longwood, returning by a road varying a little from that by which he went out, and occupying half an hour or so longer time. But it occasionally happens that a vessel with passengers remains at anchor for a day or two, and thus gives those who can enjoy a long ride an opportunity of indulging in that delightful exercise, and of witnessing a diversity and magnificence of scenery, seldom seen *compressed*, as it may be said, into so small a space. The word *collected* alone would hardly convey the correct idea of the manner in which the wild savage grandeur of the ravines and craggy precipices of Saint Helena are fitted in with rich pastures and garden grounds.

The latter owe, no doubt, much of their luxuriance to careful culture, and in the former, nature has not been unassisted by art ; but the contrasts are striking enough to admit of being compared to mosaic inlaid work, although the usually uniform and highly polished surface of that artistic production find but little resemblance in the contour of the peaks and gorges of the island of Saint Helena. We will suppose the party to consist of a few passengers having the whole of one day to dispose of in a country excursion,—literally the *whole day*, for the ride before them will occupy some six or seven hours in the saddle, and an hour or two of occasional stoppages for the very necessary purposes of rest for the horses and refreshment for the riders ; thus rendering an early start advisable,—say eight o'clock. We will also suppose that Longwood and the tomb have been the subject of an excursion of the day before, or are to form that of a ride for the next day, and having mounted our steeds—for carriages cannot travel the roads we intend to follow to-day,—we ride gently up the street from the hotel, and leaving on the left the narrow entrance to the street named after the once great Emperor, we take an equally narrow little street on the right, and almost directly afterwards a turning brings us into the Upper or Barrack Street, and we can trot smartly up the slight ascent, passing a number of houses occupied as retail shops, coffee houses, and wine shops, as the taverns are politely termed, and which are decorated with divers enticing signboards, intended to allure poor Jack when ashore for a cruise. Many of the houses in this street present signs of dilapidation in various stages, and there is but little in the locality to induce one to linger in its vicinity ; the Baptist Mission Church, the officers' and soldiers' barracks, St. John's Church, the civil and military hospitals, are successively passed, and the gardens of Maldivia and Chubb's Spring present a passing view of fruit trees and grape vines, in pleasing contrast to the sombre hills by which they are bounded. One or two of the oft-recurring zigzag turns in the road bring us to a tolerably level stretch of half a mile or so in length, ending in a sharp turn to the left round the spur of the hill on which the "Briars" is situated, and we here obtain a very beautiful view of the Waterfall and its rocky gorge, almost shut in by the precipice under the gloomy old tower of High Knoll, and the lofty promontory opposite to it, known as Peak Hill.

Looking high up the latter, we see a parapet wall winding round it in spiral fashion, of which neither the beginning nor the end is visible ; but it indicates our route, for it is the safeguard from accidents to travellers on Barnes's Road, which we are about to ascend. Curving round the basin scooped out during ages past by a second waterfall, which now comes in sight, and crossing a rather frail-looking wooden bridge immediately above this fall, we begin the ascent of the steep and narrow path before mentioned as Barnes's Road, hewn out of the rocky face of the mountain a few years ago with much labour, but comparatively small expense ; the work having been principally performed by convicts, under the able superintendence of the officer whose name is thus in a fair way of being handed down to posterity.

As we toil slowly up this rocky path, we obtain some very pretty views of the Briars, the upper part of the town, the tower of High Knoll, the waterfall,—the one known *par excellence* as "the Waterfall,"—and a deep



and rocky gorge or chasm, known as Cat Hole, between Peak Hill on our left and the abutment of Francis' Plain on our right. The road is now less steep, and we soon arrive at the Plain, on which we very likely find cricket stumps waiting to be fixed, while the tent is being pitched, in which are to be sheltered from the sun certain wicker baskets, the plumpness of which is suggestive of cricket not being all labour alone. Perhaps it is a drill day for the militia, and the members of that force are beginning to assemble, for this little Plain is the gathering-ground for other purposes besides those of cricket. Having crossed the Plain, we ascend one more zigzag, and are met and refreshed by the smart breeze which generally sweeps across the valley from the ridges near Diana's Peak. The road before us is now tolerably level for some distance, and being on the summit of a ridge separating two valleys, we have views to the right and left of several country residences.

In the valley on the right we get a glance at Willow Cottage, by turning a little in the saddle; then a snug-looking establishment, with thatched roofs and a well-trimmed garden, catches the eye: this is Knollcomb's.

Above this, on the hill, is seen the road leading to Plantation; the forest above it is on part of the Plantation grounds, the entrance to which, flanked by two small stone lodges, is also visible near the pretty church now in view, known better, or more generally, as Country Church than by its proper designation of St. Paul's, or the Cathedral. In the valley on the left we see Woodcot, and Blenkins', and high above them on another ridge are Prospect, and Alarm House. Looking again to the right a larger house than most of those in sight, and almost embosomed in a dense mass of trees, attracts attention: this is Oakbank, the residence of his Lordship the Bishop of Saint Helena; near it is seen a part of the house of Rose Bower, and here and there on the face of the hills opposite to us are perched little cottages, their white walls dotting very prettily the dark green slopes of the pasture lands interspersed among the forest-crowned ridges which we are now approaching. The road winds among the low hills and shallow ravines for another mile or so, and we are ascending the slope of Stitch's Ridge, the tower of High Knoll standing out a most conspicuous object on our right, and now rather below the level of the point we have arrived at, when we turn sharply to the left, and dash at what can hardly be believed to be a road. This is the *Cabbage-tree Road*, however, made shortly before the death of Napoleon, in order to extend the limits within which he might take horseback exercise. It is now less used than the roads of the island generally, and is becoming obstructed by brambles and grass; but we can get through these, and obtain, at a certain part of the road called the Lover's Leap, a magnificent view of Sandy Bay, and one almost equally so of the side of the island up which we have been toiling.

The urchins who have accompanied us as guides and gate-openers shake their heads gravely when questioned as to the origin of the name of this spot, and probably one more speculative than his *confrères* hazards a suggestion that something to eat would be acceptable. Being somewhat of the same mind we push on a little farther, and arrive at Taylor's Flat, in the vicinity of which we find a shady spot where we may enjoy the healthful air of this elevated part of the island, and, with a

delightful prospect of nature's preparing spread out before us, refresh ourselves with some of the contents of pockets, saddlebags, or baskets. There is not time for a visit to Diana's Peak, which is nearly half a mile from us, and we remount our steeds and commence the descent of the road, here and there getting a glimpse of the sea in the distance, and as the forest gradually becomes less dense we see in the distance the Old House at Longwood, the houses at Hutt's Gate, and those in the valley known as Willow Bank, Wallbro' Cottage, the Wells, and Teutonic Hall.

Following the sinuosities of the path, we emerge on the main road from Jamestown, which passes Hutt's Gate, and now conducts us up a slight ascent to the summit of a ridge known as Alarm Hill, and from which we look down Shark's Valley to the sea. We have now a descent of some twenty minutes or so to the foot of the slope, and, crossing the little stream which flows past the snugly situated house and grounds on our right, called Arno's Vale, we ascend the gently sloping hill on the right flank of the valley.

The signs of cultivation are less conspicuous here than in the valley we have lately left; the house and gardens we see below on our left are called Level Wood, and as we round the spur of the hill, we get the first view of a prettily situated house, known by the name of its proprietor, as Shipway's. The ferruginous red clay of the island here crops out abundantly, and the scenery changes, becoming more strongly marked, as of volcanic origin, than the parts we have as yet seen, and possessing obtrusive indication of convulsions of nature in its craggy and rugged peaks, which seem as if some enormous power had rent and torn them asunder to form the deep ravines between them, and had then left them to crumble away under the influence of time and weather, neglecting to fill up a portion of the chasms so rudely formed with a soil more suited to agriculture than that which the fragments washed down from the hills on each side slowly and insufficiently produce.

We pass through the grounds at Shipway's, and leave on the left a ruin called Tagleth, or Taglate, near which are a number of boulders, scattered over a large surface, and many of which produce musical tones on being struck with metallic substances. One, in particular, is called the Bell Stone, from the depth and volume of the sound produced.

Unfortunately, there dwelt at one time in the neighbourhood (a term which does not always, it is to be remarked, bear in Saint Helena a very literal meaning) an individual endowed with an uncommon amount of the same kind of curiosity which induced the possessor of the goose that laid golden eggs to inquire too closely into the cause of that wonderful proceeding; and this unlucky wight took the trouble, it is said, to carry to the Bell Stone a large hammer, with which he knocked off a slice of the stone: it is a comfort to know that he reaped only disappointment for his trouble, as there was no more gold in the stone than on it. The tone is said to have lost much of its fulness in consequence of the silly attempt to discover the cause of the sonorous properties of the stone; but it is still worth a visit on the part of those who can spare the necessary time,—which we cannot.

We have now arrived at the point at which we cross the head of Deep

Valley, a vast ravine of singular appearance. Its grotesque and deeply indented flanks, and the great depth of the gorge as it approaches the sea, indicate some mighty force as having produced such results, and give rise to the thought that it may even now be slumbering near the spot, and ready at any moment to awake, on the slightest irritation on the part of one of those mysterious agencies of nature, and tare and shatter the massive rocks, as it has done before, and, judging from appearances, at no very remote period in the geological history of our globe.

We now pass Rock Rose, a very tasteful country residence, with well laid out gardens and many adjuncts, making it a very "desirable locality." The winding road conducts us by a series of little ascents and descents round spurs of hills and across small ravines, all of which make up the upper portion of Powell's Valley, another deep gorge terminating in the breaking surf, which can now and then be caught sight of, and affording a view of the cape or bluff known as Sandy Bay Barn. We pass through Sheep Knoll, and up and down one or two more ravines, to Green Hill.

More ravines, more hills, rough crags, beetling precipices, below us, and tending towards the sea on our left; distant hills in front, which seem to be continually getting another ravine between ourselves and them; a glimpse now and then of Lot's Wife; rippling streams of clear water, which tempt pocket flasks out of their receptacles; shrubs and trees, which invite the traveller to linger awhile beneath their shade; and presently we join the main road from Jamestown to Sandy Bay. Nearly under Wrangham's we turn to the left, and by a very pleasant piece of road, partly shaded by tall shrubs, and clothed on both sides with the delicate white yam flower, we pass Bamboo Grove and Bamboo Hedge on our left, leaving the unornamental but rather obtrusively situated Sandy Bay School on our right; and passing a little roadside shop, at which nothing we wayfarers require is to be procured, we enter on the road leading, *viâ* Coles' Rock, to Fairy Land.

This is merely a bridle road, partly hewn out of the face of an almost perpendicular rock some six hundred feet or more in height, with no protection against a slip, which might hurl one down some hundreds more; but it is safe enough, it is to be presumed, as no accidents are recorded respecting it, and we may therefore trust our steady nags to carry us safely along the ledge-like path, with the precaution, however, which we recommend, of dismounting at one part, and leading the horses up a rather steep bit of some ten or twenty paces, which, being the bit of rock known as Coles', gives to the path the name it bears.

Some really magnificent views of the lower part of Sandy Bay are obtained in crossing by this path. The massive flanking ridges enclosing the valley, with the huge basaltic column called Lot, in the foreground; the floor of the valley chequered with almost every imaginable tint of brown and green, with finely drawn lines of light ochreous marl, changing, as the eye is moved towards the sea, into the black dykes that protrude through the sombre but less darkly coloured masses of rock, mingling with the startling little whitewashed walls that indicate a dwelling, deep down in the bottom of the ravines that *debouch* into the main valley, in places which the traveller inexperienced in Saint Helena would fancy must be

inaccessible,—all go to form a scene which it would indeed be difficult to describe.

We must not loiter on the way, however, beautiful as the scene may be, but, pushing on through the grounds of Fairy Land, ascend, as rapidly as our steeds feel inclined to carry us, the road leading from this delightful spot to the main road, and pass through a gate near the now disused telegraph post called Caissons. A very fine view may be obtained by taking half-a-dozen steps from the side of the road at this point, and looking down Sandy Bay. The white house on the left, shut in by high cliffs and forest trees except on the side from which we see it, is Rose Cottage, and those which we have passed in our ride across from Green Hill are all in sight.

We now leave the highway and ride along a branch road past Bevins's on our right, and with the open fine farming lands of Woodlands and Broadbottom on our left; Myrtle Grove is perched up on our left at some distance, and after winding round one or two ravines, we pass Farm Lodge and Rosemary, and then by the ever winding road descend into the valley known as Friar's, from a singular column of boulders piled up by the hand of nature, and standing erect on the apex of a ridge between this and the adjoining valley.

In the course of our descent we get some charming views of the residences and highly cultivated grounds of this very pretty part of the island. The large and conspicuous house at the head, almost, of the valley is Terrace Knoll; on the hill is Scotland; a glimpse of Lydenham may be had; and the compact little place on our left which we are passing close by is Southens. As we begin to ascend the hill we get a view of the Friar, but the distance is too great to admit of its peculiar formation being observed, and we have not time to pay it a visit. We now leave the gardens of this very pretty valley, and enter on a less attractive part of our day's journey, the bare and almost barren slope of New Ground; and joining the main road to Plantation at Half Tree Hollow, we get sight of Sugar Loaf Peak, and soon afterwards pass Ladder Hill Barracks, and with the town spread out beneath us descend the hill as quickly as our somewhat jaded steeds can do it: we feel rather fatigued, and ready for a refreshing bath and a good dinner.

If the length of the traveller's sojourn be sufficient to admit of it, and his taste for the picturesque induce him to employ his time in rambling about the island, there are several other routes he may explore, taking with him a small boy to show the road and open the gates, but it is unnecessary to particularize them here.

We would suggest, however, should time and inclination be favourable, a row in a four-oared boat from the harbour to Egg Island and back,—not that anything widely differing in outline from what has already been seen will be met with, but the peculiar form of the island may be better seen on such a trip than it can be from any part of the interior, or from the deck of a ship passing or approaching the island. The cliffs rise vertically from the sea, and the depth of water is so great, that not only a small boat, but even a large vessel might with safety coast very near the rock. The abrupt manner in which the slopes of the land between the ravines and valleys terminate on this side of the island cannot be

seen from the roads by which the traveller arrives at Jamestown after his country ramble. As he came from the valley in which Terrace Knoll attracted his attention, and before arriving in sight of Ladder Hill, he saw, on his left, the slopes of Horse Pasture and New Errand, and he rode down the uniform and regular slope leading from Red Hill, through or over Half Tree Hollow; but although the verge or edge of each of these slopes was distinctly defined, its position with regard to the sea was not to be ascertained by any observation from the road. It might be almost fancied that the visible limit of the land was also that of the sea, and that from the gently shelving beach one might step into a boat. There is nothing to indicate that hidden beneath that seeming shore a fleet might be safely at anchor. It is only by coasting along in a boat for a few miles that the real position of the slopes over which the traveller rode can be clearly understood.

On starting, we cross the harbour, getting a partial view of the town and a very good one of Alarm House. Passing the low ledge of the sombre-coloured West Rocks, with the batteries and storehouses of Ladder Hill above us, we have the first view yet seen of the numerous strata or beds of which the island seems to be made up. From this point the peculiar formation is distinctly marked. It is not intended to introduce here any geological speculations, but merely to draw the attention of the traveller to the numbers of these layers of various degrees of density, and to the gradual diminution of the island by the action of the weather on these rocky cliffs. These are sufficient to show that the process is by no means a slow one which is reducing the length and breadth of Saint Helena.

We soon arrive at Breakneck Valley, the first of the ravines to the westward or leeward of the harbour. It presents no remarkable feature beyond the steep and precipitous sides, up which may be traced the ledges formed by the denudation of the softer material in parts of the strata composing the mountain, which is more readily destroyed by the ever active agency at work, leaving the harder portion to follow a little more slowly but not less surely. A yawning gap in the base of the cliff is the entrance to a cavern called Hicks's Hall. The rock on which to land is accessible enough in fine weather, but the cavern is nothing remarkable; it may be explored in a few minutes, but it is hardly worth the trouble. It has been used once, or perhaps more than once, as a quarantine station. Young's Valley is the next, and then Friar's, and we arrive, after passing them, at the little bay at the embouchure of Lemon Valley.

This valley is distinguished from those we have passed by the green vegetation, dotted with a few little white houses, that indicate something of cultivation, and present a pleasing contrast to the barren and gloomy depths. A battery and some military buildings occupy the lower portion of the valley, near the landing-rock, but the inducements for going on shore are not great, and the path from the landing-rock is neither so short nor so smooth as it seems to be from the boat. It is said that formerly lemons and oranges grew in great profusion in this valley, but the former are now represented by two fruitless old stumps, and the latter have disappeared altogether. On a projecting cape to the west of Lemon Valley, and perched at some height above the sea, is Halfmoon Battery, and the

appearance of the rock forming the base of the cliff at this point is very striking, the strange contortions of the mass of matter, as hard and intractable as iron itself,—infinitely more so, in fact, in its present condition,—seem as if, while in a plastic state, they had been produced by some gigantic whisking or stirring of the mass, which, while in rapid rotation, was suddenly congealed. Some thin beds or strata are seen soon after passing Lemon Valley, of a buff or light brown colour, interspersed with the other invariably dark brown layers. These are not of one uniform colour throughout, the lower part of every one being of a lighter tint than the upper part, which gradually darkens in colour towards the stratum of hard rock above it, as if the latter had been placed on the bed of light-coloured deposit in an intensely heated state, and thus roasted or baked the upper portion of it to a certain depth, indicated by the gradual change of colour. These beds of light colour become more frequent, and are in thicker masses, as we proceed along the coast, passing Swanley Valley and approaching Egg Island; but they are always in a small minority compared with the sombre-hued strata of hard cold rock, or dull, inert-looking beds of volcanic mud mixed up with them.

The cliffs are higher as we pass Swanley, yet the slopes of the hills above them are much more steep than those we have left near Jamestown. The eye is also relieved by a view of the herbage, scant though it be, of High Hill, Thomson's Wood, and the adjoining hills and valleys. Egg Island is approached, but as we have not provided ourselves with suitable tackle for scaling the little bit of steep rock just over the landing-place, we will waive going on shore, and, turning our prow "home again," return to Jamestown.

This part of the voyage, or trip as it might better be named, is rather monotonous, but to an admirer of the works of that great creative power we commonly designate as Nature, there is enough to furnish food for contemplation, in the comparison between the mightiest works of man, with the consequences, beneficial or otherwise, which they are intended to produce, and the productions here of an unseen hand and an intelligence before which our efforts and our boasted wisdom sink into insignificance.

We have explored Saint Helena by land and sea to the best of our ability, and to the full extent of what our limited stay would allow, paid our hotel bill, and embarked once more; but as we leave the little rock behind us, rapidly sinking below the horizon, we feel a wish to spend an hour or two of the time before we see land again, in learning something, however slight or superficial, of its history. The object of the succeeding pages shall be the gratification of that wish.

## CHAPTER X.

## GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION AND HISTORY OF SAINT HELENA, AND ITS PRODUCTS.

SAINT HELENA is situated in the South Atlantic Ocean, in latitude S.,  $15^{\circ} 55' 26''$ , and longitude W.,  $5^{\circ} 42' 30''$ , the nearest land being the island of Ascension, at a distance of about 760 miles; the West Coast of Africa being about 1,050 miles away, and the east coast of the continent of South America 2,000 miles distant. It is thus a little point of rock rising from the depths of ocean in the heart of the south-east trade winds. Its form may be roughly taken as that of an isosceles triangle, each of the two sides being between nine and ten miles in length, and the base about six miles in length. Its figure, however, is not a regular one, and in round numbers its length may be put down as about nine miles, and its breadth as five miles. The coast or water line may be called twenty-nine miles in length, taking strides of one mile each, and leaving out the intervening little bays and points. Its superficial area, supposing it to be a plane without hills or valleys, would be about 30,000 acres; but the configuration of the surface is such that the quantity of land available for culture would far exceed that if the soil were suitable. The entire mass of Saint Helena is rock from its base to its highest peak, with very little soil suitable for agricultural purposes.

In some of the valleys a bed of earth exists, the result of the matter washed down from the hills, and the remains of the plants that have been nourished by the small streams which flow down some of the valleys during the whole of the year, and in others for several months without intermission. A vegetable soil has thus been produced, which by subsequent cultivation and improvement yields a tolerably good return for the care bestowed on it. On the hills in the interior of the island a thin layer of earth partially covers the slopes and less steep acclivities, in which trees of large growth have taken root; but the bed of earth is so thin that the roots of these trees crop out in all directions, and the wonder of a stranger is excited at the scanty amount of soil covering the rock in which many of the trees and large shrubs exist: probably, had they the power of speech, they would a tale unfold full of misery,—hungry days and thirsty weeks, when the sap of life seemed almost exhausted, and the woodcutter's axe would have been welcomed as a friend. From the edges of the cliffs which make up the ironbound coast, between the narrow ravines, cutting down the wall-like boundary to the water's edge, to a distance inland averaging probably a mile or more, the surface of the rocky mass is almost bare. A wild, hard, and wiry grass here and there clings to the rock, and struggles hard to assert the right of occupation of a territory of which it has taken possession in defiance of the most forbidding aspect and most evident unfitness for its success.

The appearance of the coast as one sails round it is, indeed, most gloomy

and repulsive; the redeeming points are those which the geologist gazes on with rapture; but they are, even in his mind, connecting links between successive ages or periods, and bear no relation to the present, beyond the apparent probability that the island is, in geological comparison, of recent date. The rapid rate of decomposition now going on in the rocky coast of Saint Helena corroborates the impression that has arisen of the island having been of considerably larger extent at no very distant period than it is now, from the existence of the ledges, as they are called, which at distances of four to ten miles from the island give soundings in ten to forty fathoms, and beyond which the vast depths of the Atlantic are reached. This decomposition or degradation is more apparent on the leeward side of the island than on the south-eastern or windward side, the *débris* from the former not being so rapidly removed into deep water by the sea, and the latter being so soon discoloured by the spray which incessantly washes over it; but it is highly probable that this gradual wearing away of the coast is proceeding quite as actively on the leeward as on the windward side, owing to a difference which at once strikes the attention of one who examines the comparative powers of resistance to the destroying agency.

On the leeward side the formation appears to be a series of beds or strata, in very few cases exceeding a few feet in thickness, consisting of hard and highly crystallized rock, of basaltic structure, abounding in small and frequently imperceptible fissures, interposed between beds of volcanic mud, in some instances loose and friable, and in others hard and compact, and again mixed up with beds of light-coloured sandstone, of aqueous origin, some of a few inches in thickness, others twenty or thirty feet. These several strata, although generally in nearly horizontal position, have been distorted by upheaving forces: many of the sandbeds, now becoming indurated, have been cut through by upward bursts of basalt, and most of them present the appearance of having been burned on their upper surface by the bed of rock poured out in a fluid state upon them, the colour gradually changing from buff or light-brownish yellow through the various tints between that and the dark brown which the surface in contact with the igneous rocks has assumed.

The same indication of the condition of the rock when forced up from beneath the sandbeds, and dividing them, is very apparent on *both* sides of the intruding separations; these do not come under the denomination of dykes, they are more like the effect of the sudden generation of large quantities of gases beneath the surface, forcing shapeless masses of plutonic rock into the softer stratum over the fissure formed by the explosion. There are evidences of great upheavings in the leeward side of the island, at periods long subsequent to the formation of the various igneous and aqueous strata so elaborately piled up one over the other, and one of the most striking instances may be seen from the sea, in passing the Barn and Flagstaff Bay. The Barn itself consists of the same succession of layers, of different degrees of hardness, as those lower down on the leeward coast, but they are tilted up at an angle of about thirty-five or forty degrees towards the gap between the Barn and the peak named Flagstaff. Under the latter the layers are of similar kind with those of the Barn, but dipping at about the same angle in an opposite direction; and in the centre, between the Barn and Flagstaff, and



directly under the gap between them, a dome-shaped mass of rock, different in texture, and of much lighter colour than the rocks above it, rises to a height of perhaps 500 feet, with a base of nearly a mile in length.

On the windward side of the island we fall in with numberless dykes of columnar basalt traversing the rocks, and in some parts these are so numerous, and cut through each other in so many directions, as to give the idea of an intricate piece of network, without any attempt at order or arrangement of parts, and filled in with a variety of materials of different kinds. At Prosperous Bay this phenomenon is very remarkable; the dykes are from three to five feet in thickness; the blocks generally but not in all cases pentagonal, and beautifully marked in parallel lines. There is one mass there, through which a dyke has been protruded, in which a slip or fault occurs. The dyke lies at an angle of about forty degrees from the base or horizontal line, and the upper part, with the cliff in which it is placed, has slipped down to the right (looking toward it) about six feet, the line of separation being kept distinctly marked by the constant wearing away of the surface, the little broken fragments of the dyke produced by the sliding of the heavy mass being as clearly shown as if the convulsion which caused the slide had been but of yesterday. Other dykes have passed through the mass since then, crossing the one in which the fracture occurred, and the filling in of the spaces between them goes to show that they came up at long intervals, being in some parts plutonic rock, excessively hard, but brittle; in others, angular shaped fragments of softer material, resembling sandstone in a state of decomposition,—in some, loose volcanic mud, and in others, rounded nodules, as if worn by the action of the sea on the beach. Many of these dykes stand out in bold relief from the face of the cliffs from Prosperous Bay to Sandy Bay and farther round the windward coast, running out into the sea like so many groins, and in some instances, such as the Horse's Head at Sandy Bay, and the Chimney at Lot's Wife Ponds, they are striking and unmistakeable records of the very different and much larger proportions of the island at some past epoch. The Chimney is a very remarkable vestige of a dyke, the direction of which can be traced a considerable distance, and from which the rocks that once encased it have been worn away. It is about seventy feet in height and from three to six feet in thickness. In many parts of the coast these dykes produce the most grotesque and fantastic outlines, and from the rapid changes in the view of the coast, as the spectator moves from point to point, they add much to the picturesque effect.

The coast is very bold and rough between Sandy Bay and South-West Point, towering up from 800 to 1,600 feet in height, with a never ceasing surf at its base, on which it is impossible to land; but after rounding the point the sea is smooth, and at a few places between it and Jamestown the coast is less high, although still precipitous. In addition to the grey basaltic and other hard rocks, forming the greater portion of the island, there is found in many parts a reddish-coloured rock, closely resembling hard burned brick, which occurs in large masses, and has apparently been changed from a former to its present condition by long-continued heat, its porous formation indicating that the change did not occur

under the influence of great pressure, as in some of the metamorphic rocks.

In some instances this rock contains a proportion of small cinders, and particles resembling obsidian, or augite, its texture in these instances being much closer, and the stone harder and more durable, than the lighter red kind. A rather striking and singular evidence of the part taken by aqueous agencies in the formation of the island is the existence of beds of limestone, so called, which are composed of finely comminuted shells, mixed in nearly equal proportions with the sand produced by the attrition of the pebbles on the sea beach, an operation, with respect to the pebbles, which is now continually going on at several of the bays on both sides of the island, the pebbles being merely fragments of the basaltic rock of the coast worn to their present shape; but whence the shells were produced is now not so easily to be discovered, as there are no indications of any shells, large or small, anywhere nearer the island than Ascension. These collections or mixtures of sand and finely comminuted shells are found in various parts of the island—in some instances widely separated. The proportions are nearly alike in all of them. Some are situated near the shore, as at Rupert's Bay, where the deposit extends under the sea line; some high above it, as at Banks's Ridge, 1,000 feet above the sea; in some places not more than fifty or even twenty cubic feet in bulk; in others, as at Lot's Wife Ponds, in thousands of yards or tons.

Of mineral productions of value Saint Helena has little to boast of. A sort of stone resembling cornelian has been found in one or two places, but it is rarely met with free from natural fissures, or veins so closely resembling them, that the difficulty of working the stone is much increased, and its value reduced. It is seldom looked for now. Some of the old records of the island are interesting on the subject of minerals and precious stones, as well as on other matters. In a volume published in 1816, entitled "Facts relative to the Island of Saint Helena," by General Beatson, Governor, the account given of the search for gold or other precious metal is very amusing. The worthy Governor at the period referred to in the history (1715) seems to have been as anxious to discover some source of remuneration for the "Lords Proprietors" in their island property as was ever any modern gold-digger for stupendous nuggets in reward for his own labour. In a letter written by the Governor (Pike) and Council, dated the 1st of December, 1715, we read that two Spanish gentlemen, one a priest, the other an engineer, had arrived at Saint Helena from Mexico, and having examined some parts of the island, had expressed their opinion that "there are certainly some rich mines of metal here." The Governor thereupon sent for them, and showed them several places where "there is a stony soil that looks like ore;" and they assured him that "these are the signals of rich mines of metal;" and one of them, the worthy Governor says, "indeed asserted his opinion that what he saw was the signal of a gold mine." This emphatic declaration set the Governor to work, and for some five months he appears to have dug away without losing heart, but unfortunately he had to give up his search just when, like all other alchemists, he was on the very verge of success. In June, 1716, we find him writing

thus: "The Governor has employed most of his time since the arrival here of" &c., "and has set some of your Honours' slaves at digging near a place called the Turk's Cap, where we have found a sort of mineral earth, that the same Spaniard tells us is a sure sign of a mine of metal; and are assured by the same Monsieur Oliviero, that as we go deeper we shall find clearer and more evident proofs of metal, these being none other than signals of ore, which, he says, all who understand mining will affirm as well as himself. We wish we had hands to spare, that we might keep some employed digging on this occasion, because we desire nothing more than to make the island yield to your Honours some reasonable recompence for the great expense and trouble you have been at to improve this hitherto unprofitable place."

This laudable desire on the part of the worthy Governor and Council deserved a more satisfactory fulfilment, for despite the warm assertions of the Spanish immigrants, no gold or other valuable metal was found to reward poor Governor Pike's diggings. He appears to have given it up about the date of the letter last quoted, and nothing more is recorded of the knowing Spaniards, or of the valuable mines they did *not* discover, until the year 1810, when Governor Beatson, in searching through some old records of the island, met with the account of his predecessor's gold-hunting exploits, and "his attention being," as he says, "naturally attracted by those passages in the records to the place pointed out by Governor Pike," he "therefore employed three men, under the direction of Captain Pritchard, a very intelligent officer, to examine the hills in the vicinity of Turk's Cap Bay, and to dig in those places that appeared the most likely to be productive of ore."

What the indications intended for Captain Pritchard's guidance were, we are not told, but that officer, it appears, was not at a loss for encouraging prospects. On the 11th of September, 1810, he reported that he had "just returned from Turk's Cap Valley, in which he observed abundance of calcareous spar, and various stones of extreme hardness." Some of these are still to be found there, it may be mentioned, and they are hard enough, certainly. "Being fully satisfied with our first attempt to explore this valley"—(He must be, *par parenthese*, a most enthusiastic explorer who would go twice down the valley of Turk's Cap), Captain Pritchard continues, "I have every reason to believe that we shall soon come to ore of perhaps the most valuable description." How naively the Captain qualifies his hopes, and buoys himself up with "valuable information received from Mr. Thomson, who has considerable knowledge in mineralogy, and has promised to assist in analyzing whatever we may find! He is decidedly of opinion, from the specimens I have shown him, that we shall find metal of various kinds in Turk's Cap Valley." On the 27th of September Captain Pritchard writes: "We have not proceeded so fast as could be wished, by reason of a large flake of blue stone presenting itself, which we have partly removed. There is a yellow earth, which I washed, but found nothing deserving remark"—(He need not have risked his neck in going down the valley of Turk's Cap for such a discovery as that in Saint Helena),—"although its appearance," he continues, "according to what I read in Chambers' Dictionary, is very favourable." On the 21st of October he writes: "I send a collection of stones found at the depth of

twenty-six feet in our present pit. They are certainly valuable in themselves"—(He forgot to say on what account),—"and more so in the indications they offer of approaching mineral earth." Further on, he proposes "to penetrate to the depth of fifty or sixty feet, and after carefully examining every stratum of earth, &c., to commence cutting directly down the ravine, as our pit is on the top of a hill 250 feet high (!), by which means we shall be able to explore, with great exactness, the properties of the interior."

On the 3rd of November, 1810, Captain Pritchard discovered, at the "depth of twenty-seven feet, a vein of stone which had changed to *the red sort*, and was capable of a very high polish. The earth was soft and yellow; but he did not perceive any indications of *metal*, although the veins still corresponded with some memoranda in his possession, and he therefore trusted he might soon be satisfied as to the existence of valuable ore in this spot." The search for gold ended as may be imagined, and since then has only been resumed by a very different class of persons, whose investigations have been principally directed towards the pockets of those whose fate it has been to sojourn in Saint Helena. The concluding paragraph of Captain Pritchard's report may, however, be quoted as a sort of winding-up of this gold question. In his letter, dated 20th November, 1810, he says, "Some of the accompanying stones are the most curious we have yet arrived at in digging the pit. They afford strong indications of metal. In one of these stones I observed a small piece of metal which had the appearance of silver or tin. Many of them had a metallic tint, probably what the two Spaniards termed '*the spume of metal, or the mineral fumes condensed in the upper crust.*'" The interior of the *pie* is *in statu quo*, and likely to remain so. Emerging from the interior to the surface, our attention is drawn to a consideration of the capabilities of the soil, and to the returns of any cultivation bestowed on it.

It has been already observed that for a certain distance inland from the shore or outskirts of the island the land is barren, and in many parts presents nothing but the most utter desolation, and that any effort of nature to clothe the naked rock with a garment of vegetation is, whether aided by artificial husbandry or not, confined to the interior or central part of this ocean rock. This is the natural or evident result of the peculiar conformation of the island,—a succession of precipitous ridges, and deep, rocky ravines in every direction; the most prominent of the former in the centre of the group: it is evident that a portion only of the surface, and that a comparatively small one, is available for cultivation.

The plain at Longwood and Deadwood admits of the use of farming implements to a larger extent than any other farm in the island, about 600 acres being capable of being ploughed there; but the whole amount of land in the island on which the plough can be used with advantage does not probably exceed 1,200 acres. Governor Beatson, in his "Facts," before referred to, puts it down at 2,000 acres. Wheat, oats, and barley have been grown at Longwood and Deadwood, and the former has yielded in one year from 18 to 20 bushels of wheat per acre, and in another year from 30 to 35 bushels of barley.

The hay produced in the island is of various qualities. Some is of very fair, if not superior description; but a great deal is inferior, on

account of the mixture of wire and cow grasses. Care and attention do a good deal, no doubt, in this as in other branches of husbandry, and might probably do more. Vegetables of good quality are produced, and are a welcome relief to ships after a long voyage from the East. Cabbages, knollcolls (a kind of turnip, or closely resembling that vegetable), onions, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, several kinds of beans, and very fine watercresses and lettuce, are to be had throughout the year. The true potato, however, although grown, is not cultivated to anything like the extent that it was some years ago, on account of the repeated and successive failures of the crop from blight. Governor Beatson tells us of pumpkins being grown at the rate of 35,000 per acre, and of which some weighed 70 lbs. each.

Of fruits the island has but little to boast of at present, either as regards variety or quantity. It is rather singular that an island within the tropics, and nearer the equator than others which are famous for their torrid zone fruits, should possess so little of any kind, and that the greater part of what it does produce should be fruits generally found in temperate or cold climates.

One would look for mangoes, avocado pears, custard apples, leitchis, and pineapples, in the latitude of Saint Helena. There are about four or five, or perhaps half-a-dozen, trees in the island producing mangoes, but they are small, and not of superior quality. The cheri moya is less rare, and in some of the gardens is produced of very good quality; but these, with the guava and the banana (two or three varieties), constitute the tropical fruits of Saint Helena.

There are a very few cocoa-nut trees, and some date palms, and a few leitchi trees, but the fruit does not come to perfection. The fruit most abundantly produced is a hard, thick-skinned, rather large sized pear, juicy, but possessing no flavour. At some two or three estates there are a very few pear trees of good kind, but they do not produce much fruit. Next to pears, peaches are most abundant, some being of tolerably good flavour; figs are produced of very good quality; grapes of good kind, but not abundant; a few trees in the island bear apples of very fair quality, but they are scarce; and any of the fruit produced is only procurable during a short period. Some mulberries of very fine quality are occasionally to be had on two or three of the estates, and there is a small, slightly acid fruit, known as the "loquat," which is in season about October or November, and not at all to be despised. While on the subject of fruits, a reference to the account given by Governor Beatson of "What Saint Helena produced in 1809" is interesting.

Speaking of the Briars Estate he says, "Mr. Dunn's garden produces excellent grapes, peaches, apples, guavas, oranges, plantains, and other fruits, and all sorts of esculent vegetables. . . . Miss Mason's orchard is, for its extent, the finest and most productive I have ever beheld. The apples are of a high flavour; some of them have measured sixteen inches in circumference." This locality is on the eastern side of the island, in the ravine above Prosperous Bay, and there is not a vestige of its former productiveness now remaining.

Of vegetables, however, and especially potatoes, we have still more marvellous records left by the worthy Governor. He says that he has

raised 674 bushels per acre, and gives most carefully compiled tabular statements of the results of actual experiments made "in the front garden at Plantation House," according to which it is demonstrated that an acre of ground would produce, at the same rate as the portion experimented on in each of a great many trials, crops of potatoes varying from 18,500 lbs. weight to 32,500 lbs., the difference being due to the mode of planting and description of manure. In another part we read that 36,000 lbs. may be raised annually in *two* crops, without manure at all. And taking up a remark made by Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," on the "proof that was to be found of the nourishing quality of the potato for the human constitution, in the personal appearance of porters, chairmen, and coalheavers in London, the majority of whom came from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who were generally fed with *potatoes*," the worthy Governor goes on to show that a vast saving might be made to result from feeding the people on potatoes instead of on flour, "as it is," he says, "evident that one acre of land in Saint Helena will produce as much *solid nourishment* in potatoes as nine acres of wheat in England"!

Mangel wurzel is cultivated to a limited extent, and it appears to have been so in the time of Governor Beatson; but the plants of the present day are not of the fair rotundity quoted by the Governor as that of some he sent on board his Majesty's ship *Lion*, which weighed from 37 lbs. 14 ozs. to 41 lbs. 3 ozs., and in circumference measured 1 foot 11 inches and 2 feet 1 inch; and these roots were from "*strong land* at Plantation House, newly broken up, and without being manured:" one root, from seed sown in March, and taken up sixteen months afterwards, measured 37 inches in circumference, and weighed 52 lbs. Of green fodder, from oats sown at Longwood, the Governor tells us 36,320 lbs. were produced in four months from the time of sowing, on one acre of land. Some of the calculations, and their magnificent results, *on paper*, with which this energetic old gentleman amused himself, are interesting, partly from the fact of nothing having been done to bring into actual existence the figures so readily flowing from his enthusiastic mind. In speaking of the *Palma Christi*, or *Ricinus communis*, which then grew in the island, and does still to some extent, Governor Beatson "begs leave to offer to your notice (the Honourable Company's) some observations on a subject which, if properly attended to, would materially contribute to the Honourable Company's interests on this island, by affording a revenue of some magnitude from a neglected yet very valuable source, with little comparative trouble, risk, labour, or expense."

The mode of achieving this very desirable result he then proceeds to point out, in "taking the liberty to state, that supposing an acre of land to be occupied with full-grown bearing shrubs (*Ricinus communis*), the best distance they should be from each other would perhaps be ten feet, which would allow 360 plants on an acre, including room for water trenches, &c. Upon a moderate calculation, each tree would yield 50 lbs. weight of beans per annum; this would amount to 18,000 lbs. weight per acre: the produce in oil, taking it at only one-third, would be 6,000 lbs., or 750 gallons: supposing this quantity sold at twelve shillings per gallon (which I am told is far under the market price) it would bring £450 sterling. The expense of cultivation, manufacture, and freight to England, say £50; so

that a probable profit of £400 per acre would arise to the Honourable Company. Twenty-eight acres, containing 10,000 trees, would at this rate produce an annual revenue of £11,200."

Why the Honourable Company neglected to avail themselves of this source of revenue does not now appear. Coffee is grown on two or three estates, but is not cultivated to the extent to which it might be: the quality is very good.

Cotton has been tried in one or two small experiments, and is stated to have shown favourable symptoms, but nothing further has been done with it. For sugar neither the soil nor the climate is suitable. It is true that a few canes do grow in the island, and so do a few stalks of tobacco, but neither of them, nor of other exotics which may be produced for amusement or as curiosities, have ever been found remunerative in a pecuniary sense.

The falling off in vegetables\* and fruit, so much to the detriment of the farmers, and which really seems almost inexplicable on ordinary grounds, is, however, much less remarkable than the diminution in the timber, and the entire disappearance of many kinds of forest trees with which, if we are to place any reliance on what we read or are told by the farmers and other inhabitants, many of whom are natives of the place, the island was at one time almost covered.

These accounts must, however, to a very considerable extent be considered as traditionary, and, in fact, are so styled even by our old acquaintance Governor Beatson himself, who, after stating that "in the year 1502, when Saint Helena was first discovered, its interior was one entire forest—even some of the precipices overhanging the sea were covered with gumwood trees,"—goes on to say, "Within the last fifty years many gumwood trees grew on the hills between Rupert's and Deadwood: this name indeed evidently implies there was a forest there. On the Barn Hill, and near Lot's Wife, pieces of ebony are still remaining; and there is a *tradition* that a thick wood occupied Half Tree Hollow, between High Knoll and Ladder Hill, and that some persons who had advanced therein lost their way, and perished." The extent of the ground at Half Tree Hollow, so luxuriantly clothed with forest, is certainly not more than a mile in length, by perhaps a third of a mile in width, and the surface slopes uniformly and rapidly from one end, High Knoll, to the other, Ladder Hill. How any "persons who had advanced therein" could have failed to know that by continuing to go either up the hill or down, for some ten minutes or so, they must infallibly arrive at one end of this wonderful forest, is, to say the least, remarkable.

\* This falling off is not to be attributed to a cessation of care or attention on the part of the farmers or cultivators of the land. For many years past the proper cultivation of the soil has been a subject of interest to the landed proprietors, and the exertions of any individual have been fully appreciated by the community. One instance of this may be referred to in the case of the late Mr. Richard Barker, who was a very excellent farmer, and cultivated a large extent of land. The advantages resulting to the island by that gentleman's industry and perseverance were so well understood and so highly valued, that he was presented with a very large and handsome silver cup, bearing a suitable inscription, by the farmers and land-proprietors of the island. This interesting record is now in the possession of Mr. John Barker, son of the gentleman referred to, and the esteemed proprietor of Mount Pleasant, one of the prettiest places in Saint Helena.

It may also occur to an impartial observer that the site once so prolific is now little more than bare rock ; that there is scarcely sufficient soil on any part of it to nourish or support anything less easily satisfied on such points than a prickly pear ; and the question arises most naturally, What has become of the soil that such a forest must have had for its roots ? But we go on a little further, and the good old Governor falls back on a record of a "consultation," dated 12th July, 1709, in which he says is "recorded the most remarkable and positive testimony of *huge* forests on the island of Saint Helena, in the following words :"—"Our necessity is so great for want of coals that we thought it would have put a full stop to our work, but do find that ebony wood will burn lime, and being informed that there are huge quantities of that wood which lie dead on the hills near Sandy Bay, the Governor and Captain Mashborne went there to view it, and found the report true, for that there is abundance indeed, and just by that place where the wood lies are mountains of extraordinary limestone ; and it will be much cheaper to our honourable masters to bring lime from thence ready burnt (being light), than to fetch that sort of wood (which is very heavy), and bring it to the Castle in James's Valley."

The disappearance of the "huge" forests is ascribed by writers of the period (and their statements are repeated by Governor Beatson) to the ravages committed by goats on the young trees. In a letter from the Government of Saint Helena to the Court of Directors, dated 9th July, 1745, it is stated that "Finding that great quantities of ebony trees which grew in and about Peak Gut in their tender growth were barked and destroyed by the goats that ranged there, we thought it for your Honours' interest, for the preservation of the wood, and the welfare of the island, to order the goats there to be killed." To this representation the Court replied, "The goats are not to be destroyed, being more useful than ebony." Were the testimony in support of it less full, the fact of these *huge* forests of ebony might well be doubted ; for on the majority of the places mentioned in the records as having been so richly covered, there is nothing in the shape of a tree of the most minute or humble kind ; and in the neighbourhood of the *mountains* of limestone near Sandy Bay one might search in vain for even a blade of grass, or a morsel of soil in which it could take root.

It is not, however, to be inferred that the island is now bare of trees in all parts : the object of these references to the records left us by Governor Beatson, amply confirmed as to their general truth and correctness by other and later authorities, is to draw attention to the remarkable difference existing in the present state of the island, as regards timber, from its condition a hundred years since. The careful consideration of this difference gives rise to some interesting questions. Why should those parts of the island which a hundred and fifty years ago bore indisputable proofs of having recently been clothed with trees, and necessarily covered with a certain depth or thickness of soil or mould, now be entirely denuded of both trees and soil ? The trees, it may be said, were cut or taken away ; but even if so, the roots would be left ; and it is well known that such relics remain sound for very many years, especially under favourable circumstances of climate. What has become



of the soil or mould which was absolutely necessary for the retention of moisture for the vital support of the trees, as well as to afford material support for their roots and trunks? There is not on the site of the ebony trees, mentioned by the writers of 1709, at the present time a particle of vegetable earth—nothing but bare rock, as utterly incapable of nourishing a tree as would be one of the waves of the ocean at its base. The surface of the rock is very steep, forming precipitous slopes from the highest points to the ravines or gullies separating the ridges and descending towards the sea. Can the convulsions, which the general appearance of the island indicates as having been the cause of its singular dislocated condition, have been so recent that the forests of ebony were overthrown, and the land on which they had stood upheaved to such an extent that it no longer retained the rain which fell on it? that, becoming dry and parched under the rays of the tropical sun, it yielded easily to the force of the constant winds, and gradually diminished in quantity, until the last particle of dust had been blown away, leaving the trunks of the trees as a vestige of what had once been a forest?

But even this will not explain the disappearance of the forests on the leeward side of the island, which were in *actual existence* at the period of its discovery. Since then no convulsion of nature has occurred to form the ground for any speculation or hypothesis; and with regard to them, we must come to the conclusion that the goats or their owners, or the exigencies of "our honourable masters," gradually removed all traces of them.

The *Saint Helena Calendar*, published yearly in Jamestown with the authority of the local Government, contains a list of "the exotic trees and shrubs now growing on the island, and of fruit-bearing plants,"—of the former enumerating 116 kinds, and of the latter 39. Without any desire to impugn, in the most remote degree, the correctness of these lists, it may be observed that their value as a piece of statistical information would be considerably increased if they were accompanied by a statement of the localities where the trees and shrubs may be seen, and an approximate estimate of the quantity or number of each kind in the island. The visitor to Saint Helena may see for himself, in his rambles over the mountains and in skirting the valleys, specimens of the trees which, to any appreciable extent, are either indigenous to the soil or have become naturalized. They may be classed very nearly as follows:—Fir, oak, gumwood, cypress, cabbage tree, eucalyptus, willow, banian, date, cocoa-nut, bamboo, cork tree, margossa, privet, Norfolk Island pine.

Possibly isolated specimens of other forest or jungle timber may be met with. Apple, pear, peach, guava, coffee, loquat, and banana trees may also be seen, and so may mulberry trees and grape vines in a few places, and in a very few indeed. In Jamestown one or two mango trees may also be discovered, but, with the exception of three or four of the forest woods, among which the fir is the most abundant, and the pear, peach, and guava among the fruit-bearing trees, the number of each kind is not great. Indeed it would be almost as incorrect to call Saint Helena an ebony or teak-producing colony, as to declare that England abounded in electrical eels because one melancholy-looking individual of the *gymnotus electricus* family was some years ago, and perhaps is now, to

be seen at the Polytechnic Institution in Regent Street. There is a great variety of ferns, and furze and blackberry flourish to a great extent. The thorny bush makes very excellent hedges, and there are other shrubs in considerable quantities. The camelia, both red and white, grows to the size of a large apple tree; the flowers, especially of the white camelia, are very beautiful; the latter frequently makes its appearance on occasions of festivity as an article of *coiffure* for the ladies. Roses, carnations, fuchsias, heliotropes, hybiscus, and many other flowers are cultivated in gardens, and the wild geranium forms an ornamental roadside hedge in many parts of the island.

The green and grassy slopes in some of the valleys are very prettily spotted with the white, bell-shaped yam flower, while the dry and arid plain stretching out between Longwood and the cliffs overlooking Prosperous Bay is mottled on its brown surface with the cool-looking green iceplant, a low creeper, with here and there a variegated blossom—white, pink, and yellow.

## CHAPTER XI.

### CLIMATE, AND ATMOSPHERICAL PHENOMENA.

SITUATED in the very centre of the south-east trade winds, Saint Helena enjoys a constant breeze blowing throughout the year in very nearly the same direction, and, passing as it does over some thousands of miles of ocean before arriving at the island, free from malaria, the breeze passes quickly over the little strip of land, and carries off what small quantity of unwholesome gases may be generated in a locality thinly populated, and possessing peculiar advantages in dryness of soil and easy drainage. The breeze, or wind, as it may then with every propriety be called, sometimes—particularly in the winter season, as the months from May to September are termed—blows hard for days or even for weeks with little intermission, and is heavily loaded with moisture. It may then be considered unpleasant, especially by those who inhabit or are called upon to visit the part of the island in which Longwood is situated; but beyond a somewhat (and very slight) increased amount of catarrhal complaints, it is not unhealthy in its influence on the population.

On the other hand, whenever, as occasionally happens from some disturbing action in the atmospheric currents, and when the trade-wind is light, an eddy is caused by the curve round the Barn, and the breeze, instead of continuing its direct course, is brought into Jamestown from a direction the northward of east, its depressing influence is felt immediately: the vitiated atmosphere of the town, and the foul gases evolved from the open drain which runs through the middle of it, are thrown back into the valley, and having no outlet at any other part—shut in by high mountains on every side but that next the sea—their effects are soon apparent in headache, and the usual symptoms of breathing an impure air; and there is little doubt that the continuance for a few days of this partial

reversal of the direction of the prevailing wind would be most hurtful, and fevers in some of their worst forms might be expected to appear among the inhabitants of Jamestown. Fortunately these occurrences are not frequent, nor of long continuance, and the atmosphere of Saint Helena may be fairly considered as conducive to health. It may be remarked as a rather singular fact, that hurricanes or even gales of wind are unknown in Saint Helena.

The temperature of the island is subject to variation, depending on the season and atmospheric causes, and is affected to a greater extent by those influences than might from its position and local circumstances have been expected. The difference of temperature at Longwood or Deadwood from that at Jamestown is also considerable, although the elevation of Deadwood above Jamestown, about 1,750 feet, would not lead one to expect so great a difference; and even between Plantation House and Longwood the difference of temperature was carefully observed, in Governor Beatson's time, to amount to 5°, although the two places are as nearly as possible at the same height (above the sea). Governor Beatson says, "The range of temperature shown by the thermometer during the year, at Plantation House, was from 60° to 73°; at Longwood it was 5° lower, and at Jamestown from 5° to 7° higher than at Plantation House." This was the temperature "within doors," outside it was known "sometimes to fall to 52°." The *Saint Helena Almanac* for 1864 contains a table of observed temperatures at Longwood and Jamestown, and also gives the mean temperature observed at Longwood during five years, which is stated to have been 64° 4'; the maximum being in about the middle of March, and the minimum early in September. The lowest recorded during the five years was 52° on the 5th of September, 1845, and the highest was 77° on the 3rd of March, 1842; the extreme range in the five years being 25° 8'. A careful observation of the temperature at Jamestown and at Longwood, during six months of the year 1848, gave as the difference between the two places an average of 9-125°.

Neither of the extremes here recorded can be considered as oppressive, taken apart from other circumstances; but it is to be borne in mind that in summer the island is brought twice under a vertical sun, and that Jamestown is placed in a deep and narrow valley, the sides of which are so nearly perpendicular that they can only be ascended by steep roads cut in the form of a zigzag across the face of the mountains, and that the rays of the sun are reflected from the bare rock, of which those hills consist, directly into the town. The temperature indicated by the thermometer is therefore not to be taken as the criterion of the absolute heat, which is sometimes very oppressive in the town, though seldom so in the country.

Again, with regard to the lowest record of the thermometer, 52°. This would be considered in higher latitudes—as, for instance, in England—a very pleasant and agreeable temperature; but in Saint Helena one is glad to have a good fire to sit near to when the thermometer indicates 52° or 54°. One reason is, that on such occasions the atmosphere is usually very heavily loaded with moisture, and probably a strong south-east trade-wind blowing, which seems to penetrate almost to the bones, setting thick woollen coats at defiance, and trying hard to tear to pieces the best waterproof coverings. A continued residence in a tropical climate, even such as that

of Saint Helena, renders the body very sensitive to changes of temperature, especially to cold; and to that cause probably, in great measure, is to be attributed the fact of anything under 60° being, to say the least, *chilly*.

The amount of moisture brought on the island by the trade-winds has been more than once referred to, and it is much to be regretted that the register of rainfall has not been kept in a manner desirable for arriving at a confident conclusion as to the amount of rain that actually falls on the island during the year. The rains, it is true, are so partial, and the amount in different parts of the island so different in itself, that to arrive at an exact result as to the average depth of rain on the island would require several rain-gauges in various parts, and very accurate observations for several years. During the winter months, March to September, the weather is *expected* to be very wet, and, as a general rule, the expectants are not disappointed. During the summer months there are occasional showers, and now and then a wet day, but only as an exception; the weather during those months being very pleasant, and the air in the higher parts of the island, and, in fact, anywhere out of Jamestown, most refreshing and exhilarating. Our old friend, Governor Beatson, gives a statement of the fall of rain during the years 1811 to 1813:—"From the 22nd of February, 1811, when the *summer* rains began, until the day of my departure from the island, on the 1st of September, 1813, I kept an exact diary of the fall of rain, which was continued by Mr. Jennings, the Company's gardener, to 1815. The rain was measured in an accurate rain-gauge sent from England by Sir Joseph Banks. The following were the results:—1811, 22·40 inches; 1812, 29·04; 1813, 32·13; and 1814, 49·96." It will be at once seen that, in the absence of any other record than the one quoted, a considerable degree of uncertainty exists as to the actual amount of rainfall in Saint Helena.

At intervals of uncertain duration—two or three, or perhaps four or five years,—a very heavy rain falls on some part of the island, rushing like an avalanche down the precipitous sides of the ravines over which it descends, and, literally carrying everything away with it (in most instances that, fortunately, is not much), it rushes to the sea in a very impetuous and hasty manner. Sometimes on the windward side of the island the damage done is the sweeping away a small field or two of carrots or sweet potatoes, with perhaps a stray family of young ducks, somewhere lower down the valley, and some inhospitable stone barriers at its junction with the sea; sometimes, on the leeward side, when Jamestown comes in for a washing, and its *cloaca maxima*, the Run, or main drain, is filled to the brim—"without o'erflowing, full," with a semi-fluid, dingy-coloured body in rapid motion, which seems, by the hurried glance one can get of its upper portion, or surface, to consist of empty barrels, roots and leaves of banana trees, lumps of feathers, which, by subsequent information, are resolved into ducks or fowls, disjointed washing-tubs, and such other "unconsidered trifles" as so general a "picker-up" may be imagined as likely to gather in a race through a town and its suburbs. This is the surface. What the constituent or component parts of the under-current may be is not revealed to the spectator, for which he may doubtless be thankful.

The consideration of rainfall leads to that of the supply of water. The island has been called a tank for the India shipping, and it has proved

itself worthy of the name, as many homeward bound skippers and passengers have known. Situated in the track of ships from India, Australia—anywhere east of the Cape, in fact, and bound to anywhere west of it, Saint Helena stands ready with a supply of the indispensable sea stock of water.

This has been an important consideration in regard to the island since its first occupation by the East India Company, and is so now, the arrangements for supplying the shipping being most carefully attended to. Jamestown draws its supply of water for its inhabitants from the same source as that which furnishes it to the shipping,—a *spring* at the head of the valley, and a portion of the water which enters the valley from the grounds above the Waterfall. The supply to the town is not in quality or quantity quite equal to the requirements of those fastidious persons who like clean water *ad libitum* for personal or domestic purposes; and on an occasion of fire, which happily does not occur very often, the usual course of proceeding is to form a temporary dam across the Run, or main drain, and throw the accumulated fluid (?) on the conflagration. It is generally found to be efficacious in extinguishing the flames, and the engines and hose are afterwards well washed no doubt.

The term “spring” has been used in reference to the supply of water to Jamestown, and as it is generally applied in a very indefinite way, a few words on the subject may be allowed. In the *Saint Helena Almanac*, before referred to, and it is believed in some other works, the number of so-called springs in Saint Helena is stated to be 212. The discoverer of these numerous sources must have possessed a most insatiable thirst for natural phenomena, and if he were, happily, gifted with an equal craving for natural drinks, it is to be hoped he took a supply with him when he visited such places as Gregory’s, Turk’s Cap Valley, or Prosperous Bay, in which localities water, it is true, is to be found generally throughout the year, but so strongly impregnated with salt as to be quite unfit for drinking; and this peculiarity exists in other places in the island high above the sea, a circumstance indicative of the submarine origin of the strata over or through which the water of these streams, or springs, as they are erroneously styled, passes.

It must be apparent that the water which emerges from the precipitously sloping sides of the valleys or ravines in Saint Helena is the same which at some prior date fell in the form of rain on the summits of the hills, and penetrating through the rents and fissures which in every direction traverse the rocks of the island, and picking up in its course substances which combine either chemically or mechanically with it, it escapes from its tortuous channel, and forms the stream which trickles down the valley to the sea. From some of these sources many of the country houses are supplied by leaden pipes, some of which are of great length. There are many miles of lead pipe in the island, which were laid down during the Company’s time for the purpose, and some of the houses, not so fortunate in that provision as others, are far enough removed from a supply of water to make it a serious expense to the occupant to obtain what is absolutely required for domestic purposes.

The valley in which Jamestown is situated is so admirably formed by nature for the construction of a large reservoir at its head, near the Water-

fall, on the principle so generally adopted in India, that it seems a matter of surprise as well as regret that advantage has not been taken of the facilities afforded for the increase in the supply of water to the town. The system might also be adopted in other parts of the island, but there is less reason for it there, as the cultivable land in the valleys is the strip at the bottom, in which is the bed of the stream passing through it. It is rather remarkable that thunder and lightning are almost unknown in Saint Helena; there are traditions of flashes of lightning having been seen, and a few individuals have boldly asserted that they once heard thunder, but these are exceptional instances. Enjoying so singular an immunity from meteorological disturbance, Saint Helena may be considered to occupy a very eligible situation, as no doubt it does, the only really disagreeable visitor from the great laboratory of nature being known by the local name of "the rollers." This curious outbreak of ocean does not appear to be governed by any law requiring regular or periodic recurrence, unless the few occasions on which it has occurred, having been in or about the month of February or May, be held as an indication that some particular conditions are brought into action at that season, which combine to produce the extraordinary swell of the sea which has received the name of "the rollers."

It does not appear that strong breezes at or near the island are necessary for this disturbance of the waves, nor are any local causes for it apparent, but the setting in of the rollers is generally notified a day or two previously by the swell, which nearly throughout the year, and more especially during the summer months, accompanies the flood tides at full moon. The approach of the rollers is indicated by their non-subsidence to any appreciable degree with the ebb of the tide, as is usually the case, but rather by their gradually increasing agitation with each succeeding flood tide, until they assume the formidable shape and character that have, on two occasions at least, left unmistakeable marks of their violence.

The tides at Saint Helena seldom exceed three feet rise from the ebb to the flood, and during several days, at the neap or half moon tides, the rise and fall do not exceed a few inches; the flood tide at the springs, is generally attended by a ground swell, which sets in very steadily and breaks in long well-defined waves on the shore near Jamestown; this swell gradually increases in volume, until each succeeding wave at length so far exceeds those that have gone before it, that they begin to curl over and break at some distance,—100 or 200 yards from the shore,—giving one the idea of long cylindrical masses of water rolled in by some invisible agency, and falling into surf as they approach the shore. The most remarkable feature of the phenomenon is the fact, that while this tumult is going on at and near the shore, where masses of timber and huge stones are torn to pieces or tossed about as if giants were sporting with children's toys, and a sea running in which no anchor that was ever forged could hold a ship, the vessels that are lying a mile or even less from the shore ride at anchor as tranquilly as usual, and feel no more than the ordinary swell.

In February, 1846, the rollers set in with great violence, and several vessels which had anchored too near the shore were torn from their moorings and dashed to pieces; a number of boats were also destroyed,

and some lives were lost in the attempts to save them. A battery then in existence, and known as Lower Chubb's, situated on the face of the cliff, a considerable height above the sea, was washed away, a small portion of the masonwork remaining as a memento of the immense force of the waves. In February, 1862, a recurrence of this remarkable phenomenon took place. Fortunately no vessels were anchored within reach of its devastating action: a number of boats were destroyed, but no loss of life is believed to have occurred. A large extension of the wharf, constructed of heavy timbers, and secured by immense iron bands and heavy masonry, which had been completed only the previous year, was entirely carried away; the Commissariat coal-yard, enclosed by a high stone wall, was literally filled by one of the seas, which in escaping tore away the large entrance gate, and swept out a quantity of coals.

Several theories have been advanced on the origin or cause of this singular outbreak of the sea, generally so placid and quiet near Jamestown, but they are merely *theories*. One, which has the appearance of plausibility, to say the least of it, and which was modestly put forward as a suggestion on the last occasion of the rollers, assumes the existence of an offshoot or branch of the great western current from the Cape, which passes southward of Saint Helena, but sufficiently near the island to be somewhat obstructed in its course by the land, and deflected by it into a northerly direction. The tidal wave, travelling westward, goes *with* this current, and the south side of Saint Helena feels no indication of any disturbance in the depths of the ocean near it; but on the northern side of the island the tidal wave is brought into collision with the current, by meeting it in nearly an opposite direction. If, from some natural influence at a particular season of the year, the current, after rounding the island, is increased in volume or in force, the collision between it and the tidal wave may produce an oscillation that is more or less perceptible as the opposing forces are stronger or weaker.

Out at sea the shock is diffused over a large space, and is not felt or observed at all, but arrested by the steep—almost perpendicular—rock of the base or foundation of the island; the lateral oscillation becomes a vertical one, and is shown in the huge waves which rise from the depths of the sea in close proximity to the island.

Slight shocks of earthquakes have been felt in Saint Helena, in the years 1756 and 1780, and again in 1817, but no authentic records exist of the nature or intensity of the shock. No injury was caused to any buildings, although much alarm was felt in Jamestown, on account of the rocks overhanging the town, which appear as if ready to fall and overwhelm it upon a very slight provocation.

## CHAPTER XII.

## ZOOLOGY OF SAINT HELENA.

OF wild animals, according to the usual acceptation of the term, Saint Helena possesses none, although some of the goats, which have established their homes in parts of the cliffs inaccessible to anything less sure-footed than themselves, might very reasonably claim to be so considered. Rabbits are plentiful, and, with a little greenish-coloured mouse that was intended by Nature to wear a coat of dark brown, constitute the four-footed game of the island. The poor mouse is a timid little fellow that pops out from the walls, and from under the stones on the side of the road, and back again, but not always quickly enough to escape from the dogs, that seem to bear him a particular dislike. In addition to his persecutions from these canine enemies, he is not protected by law, as the rabbit is, from human foes, and is perhaps not considered by the rabbits as worthy of being classed under the head of game. Pheasants and partridges appear to do very well, and afford excellent sport to the lovers of the game-bag and gun, but require stout muscle, sound wind, and steady head, to enable the possessor to climb and scramble up and down the steep ridges, and to skirt round the cliffs and precipices where the game is to be met with.

It is rather a matter of surprise that any of these unfortunate birds are still to be found in the island; for the place is small, and the number shot year after year large, even of those slaughtered according to law, while no doubt a certain, or perhaps *uncertain* number fall victims to surreptitious attacks. One year's protection has been lately given to the birds, which will no doubt increase their numbers, as well as add a few names to the list of "persons licensed to *fire guns*" in the next shooting season.

There are a number of very pretty little doves on the island; many of them so tame that they sit on the road-side, hardly caring to fly up at the approach of persons passing. They are very plump, fat little things; but it is much to be regretted that they are shot at by many people, and must in a short time succumb to such wholesale destruction as is carried on against them. A delicately formed bird is called the "wire-bird," from its very slender legs, which are scarcely larger than a small fiddle-string, but so long that their possessor runs on the ground as if mounted on a pair of wire stilts some four inches in length. The wire-bird is said to be known only in Saint Helena. Some very beautiful cardinal birds, some yellow birds resembling the canary, a few minors or *minahs*, and some chirruping little fellows known by the local name of *averdevat*, with a few Java sparrows, make up the list of land birds. The sea birds, of which there are great numbers on some parts of the coast, are blackbirds,—not the English bird of that name, nor anything at all like it, but so named to distinguish it from the white-bird, a rather stupid fellow, but most graceful in its motions, that flies round the head of any visitor to his



domains, near enough to be knocked over by an umbrella or walking-stick ; the tropic-bird, and very rarely one or two others.

There is a great variety of fish, and no doubt in great quantities, but not many kinds caught in large numbers. A more systematic and more determined style of fishing might no doubt increase the supply of this article of food, on which the majority of the working classes in Jamestown almost entirely exist. The albacore is a large fish weighing from 70 lbs. to 150 lbs., caught constantly throughout the year. It is commonly known by the name of "Saint Helena beef:" it resembles beef in colour, and as it admits of being cooked in a variety of ways, and is of good flavour, it is really a fair substitute for that article of food. Next in point of usefulness is the mackerel, which is caught in large quantities, and is perhaps more correctly the staple food of the poorer classes than the albacore ; for, depending on the number of mackerel caught during the night's fishing, is the price per dozen in the market on the next morning ; and many an anxious provider is joyful or the reverse, as the price per dozen is fourpence or two shillings, for even beyond that difference the price ranges sometimes. The cavalli is an excellent fish, and rather plentiful ; jacks, soldiers, old wives, silver fish, bull's-eyes, and five fingers, are also caught freely. The yellow-tail is now and then taken ; it is a very delicious fish, resembling salmon ; and the coal-fish, a very rare one, is *said to be* even superior to it. Eels in numbers, and of enormous size, are caught, chiefly of the conger tribe. The stump, something between a crawfish and a lobster, of very fair quality, is also caught. Flying-fish, of very large size, are often driven to take refuge on the shore by the porpoise or the dolphin ; and specimens of other kinds of fish are occasionally met with, but not in large numbers as compared with those which have been named.

In his account of the island Governor Beatson gives a list of the fish known in 1809, in which he enumerates seventy-six kinds. The *Saint Helena Almanac* gives sixty-one or sixty-two as the number ; but it is probable that both the lists might be reduced very considerably, by taking out those which have received names on account merely of some imaginary difference from another of the same description of fish, and others of which specimens have not for many years been seen. The concluding paragraph of Governor Beatson's remarks on the fish and the fishing of the island shows that no change has taken place in the kinds of fish most abundant near the shores since the time at which he wrote ; and the correctness of his observation, that "with so great a variety of fish, there is no doubt that the establishment of a proper fishery would be of vast advantage to the island," is fully concurred in by every one who takes the trouble to inquire into the facts of the case.

Of reptiles or noxious insects Saint Helena is almost entirely free ; snakes there are none ; scorpions and centipedes are very few and small ; rats are numerous enough, but take up their quarters principally in store-houses and other congenial localities : of the smaller insects, mosquitoes are rather attentive to strangers, but they are neither so numerous nor so active as to cause much annoyance to any one who has known the banks of the Mississippi or the pine swamps of Canada.

If, however, Saint Helena enjoys a comparative freedom from the insect tribe generally, there is a member of the class that has proved itself a most

energetic and destructive one. Not indigenous to the island, nor even a naturalized subject, but an invader from, as it is supposed, the coast of Africa, the *white ant* has done more mischief in Jamestown, and consequently on the island generally, though indirectly, than any other immigrant of modern days. This squatter, as he would be styled in a new colony, made his first appearance in the island about twenty years ago, and although the attack on the timber in the houses of Jamestown may have been made for some time very gently and gradually, there can be little doubt that it was begun shortly after the enemy had established himself in the island. For some years the ravages of the white ant do not seem to have attracted much notice, and it is impossible to say whether the proprietors of houses looked upon the mischief being done as they would on that caused by a storm or any other operation of nature which, although beyond their control, would be transient, and its effects within their power to remedy, or whether they submitted in silence to an evil admitting of no alleviation.

It is certain, however, that until within the last five years or thereabout, no steps were taken, of any importance, to stay the ravages of the insects. The same system of building followed during many years was continued, and materials of the same kind used in constructing new houses or in repairing old ones. The walls were built of stone laid in a mud formed by mixing the volcanic earth of the island with water, and using it as a substitute for mortar made of lime and sand. The mud contracted as the water evaporated from it, and the interior of the walls became a series of intricate passages in every possible direction, affording to the insects a most safe and commodious abiding-place; nothing, in fact, could be contrived more suited to the habits of the destructive little mischief-worker, or more certain to secure its rapid increase, than providing it with so congenial a nest as these mud walls proved to be. Then, as if to furnish fit and proper food for the occupant of the comfortable dwelling so carefully contrived, the woodwork was all formed of the fir, commonly known as deal; the ends of all beams inserted in the walls; and great pieces built in here and there to bind or tie the masonry together. All this must have been very encouraging to the white ant, who probably did not puzzle his brains to decide whether so liberal a provision for his natural requirements was the result of benevolent intentions or not, but quietly enjoyed the good fortune he found thus thrown on him, and exerted himself to the extent of his power in eating up his favourite food as rapidly as it could be produced and placed ready for him.

It is to be regretted that a style of building so suited to the increase of this pest is even now adopted in many instances. The result, to many houses in Jamestown, of the firm establishment of the white ant, can hardly be imagined at first, although a few words embody the nature of the injury inflicted. The whole of the woodwork was destroyed—destroyed as effectually, although not so quickly, as if by fire,—in some cases the process going on gradually, from one part of a house to another, so that a continued course of repair was required, the ants destroying one floor while another was being renewed; and in other cases making a simultaneous attack on all parts of the house, rendering any partial repair entirely impracticable, and fairly driving the occupants into the street.

This has literally been the case with many of the houses in Jamestown, and some are now standing empty, and, until rebuilt or the woodwork renewed, utterly useless. Others are occupied, although in most dangerous condition—the floors propped up in a dozen places, and great beams of wood stretching out into the streets as supports, to prevent the walls from tumbling outwards. A large piece of the heavy plaster ceiling in Saint James's Church suddenly fell down, from the laths and ceiling-joists having been destroyed. This occurred on a Saturday, about nine in the morning; had it been delayed twenty-four hours the troops would have been attending Divine service, and the result would have been a fearful loss of life. The entire ceiling of a bedroom in one of the principal houses in the town suddenly gave way from the same cause during a night when the usual occupants of the room were for a few hours absent, and other narrow escapes of similar kind are known to have occurred.

Some proprietors are rebuilding their houses with materials which defy the white ant,—stone, iron, and asphalt,—and public attention generally has been drawn to the consideration of some method of mitigating the evil, if it cannot be entirely removed, by energetic steps on the part of the present Governor, Sir Charles Elliott. Their total eradication does not appear possible, as not only the houses, but the ground on which they stand, is infested by them; and in the Governor's garden, near the Castle, where the soil is soft and easily moved, containing a considerable amount of vegetable matter, they are to be found literally in thousands, and pieces of various kinds of wood placed there, with the view of ascertaining whether any and what description of timber could be found to resist their attacks, were destroyed in a short space of time—some so completely that in four or five weeks scarcely a vestige could be found. Not only different kinds of wood from almost every part of the world, but wood prepared in different ways, by coating or by thoroughly impregnating or saturating with chemical solutions, have been tried with almost the same result. Sulphate of copper, chloride of zinc, creosote, and other similar preparations have been tried, but without effect: in a few weeks at the most the experimental pieces of wood have been found quite destroyed. The only timber which has, up to the present time, not been found to be destroyed by the white ant is the Moulmein teak; but the length of time during which it has been exposed is not yet sufficient to render the fact of its perfect immunity positive. The subject is, in connection with Saint Helena, so important and interesting, that a few remarks further may be allowed.

That the insects possess certain instincts by which they conduct their operations cannot be doubted; yet their course of proceeding sometimes appears to be more that of caprice than of any fixed or determined line of action. That they possess peculiar instincts is not only certain, as being the unwavering law of nature throughout the animal kingdom, but it is made eminently so in some houses in Jamestown, repaired with teak timber, but of which the walls were of the kind before spoken of as being built with mud, and consequently swarming with white ants. In one instance some books and papers, favourite subjects of investigation and destruction by the white ants, had been placed on a teak window-board more than an inch in thickness, and allowed to remain there a few days. On

removing them, or attempting to do so rather, they were found to be destroyed, a colony of white ants having established themselves in the midst of the pile. These insects had come from the masonry beneath the window-board, not by getting round it, but by boring a few small holes through it, guided by the *knowledge*, however obtained, that in a certain direction material suited for their peculiar habits was to be found.

Similar cases, in which, however, the window-boards were of deal, have frequently occurred; but they were less important, as the deal being itself liable to be destroyed by the white ants, it was probable that they arrived at the papers by accident, while pursuing their ordinary course of proceeding in the wood, although, as the insect, in devouring the interior of the timber, always leaves the outer coat or surface *intact*, it might be supposed to burrow under the papers, leaving as usual a skin or thin film of wood separating its place of action from them; but it was not so in all cases at least, the deal window-boards being merely perforated by small apertures, as if the insect had been in haste to arrive at what would thus appear to be a kind of food more desirable than the timber. In the case of the teak window-boards, however, it was evident that the insects became aware of the existence of the papers while separated from them by an inch or more of teak. It was also clearly proved that teak, however objectionable to them as an object for destruction or of food, does not possess absolute powers of resistance, as they had bored holes through it. That they strongly object to teak has been as clearly proved by some of the experiments lately tried, in which pieces of teak and deal, placed in alternate layers, and firmly glued and nailed together, were buried in the earth. In a few weeks the deal was, in most instances, *destroyed*, and the teak remained *uninjured*.

A wonderful instance of their instinct and perseverance in following their impulses occurred lately in Jamestown. A partition was constructed across a gentleman's office, which did not reach to the floor or ceiling above it, a space of about two feet, or perhaps a little more, being left open for ventilation. The earth below the partition, or the floor on which it was placed, swarmed with white ants, and the ceiling above it—the floor of the room over the office, in fact—had been renewed shortly before with deal timber.

The white ants became aware of this, and determined on attacking it. It is necessary to explain that when these insects, in migrating for establishing outposts from their head-quarters, have to travel over the surface of any wall, they construct a covered passage, of a greyish brown colour and of semicircular shape, the width being rather less than half an inch, and in this they travel in comparative or perhaps *fancied* security.

In the instance referred to they started from the lower floor, and proceeded directly upwards to the top of the partition, forming several of their covered passages as they ascended. On arriving at the top the open gulf between them and the object of their labour must have somewhat disheartened them; but, true to their instincts, they immediately set to work to continue their passages in the form of a hollow column or pillar about the size of a large swan-quill, rising upwards from the top of the partition towards the floor above it; but they had undertaken a task they could

not perform. In the course of a day or two their columns fell down, and although with an amount of instinct bordering on intelligence, and perseverance worthy of a better cause, they continued to work on day after day, they did not succeed. They widened the base of their column, on the principle of the Eddystone Lighthouse; they built props against it until it looked like a mangrove tree on the banks of the Niger; but they never succeeded in getting it more than a few inches in height. When it became evident to those who watched this curious proceeding, that the insects were working in vain, their perseverance was tried by continually breaking down their column day after day; but they never ceased their exertions, repairing the damage patiently and perseveringly, and until the last hour of the passages and columns being allowed to disfigure the partition, some determined fellow would be now and then seen putting his head out at the top of the column, as if calculating the distance to the desired object.

The only apology I can offer for going a little further with the white ants, is the anxious desire of every one interested in Saint Helena to have their habits understood, in order to arrive at some means of defeating them. A small piece of railing in the interior of St. James's Church, which had been put up before white ants were introduced to the island, and which had remained untouched by them while the adjoining parts were destroyed, was removed to the garden, and in a week had almost entirely disappeared.

In the construction of one of the best houses in the town many years ago two kinds of deal had been used—one of a light yellow, the other something darker, but both strictly deal or pine. The house was so much damaged by the white ants within a few years past, that the proprietor decided on renewing the interior entirely, and handed it over to the carpenters, who found, on taking down what remained of the woodwork, that these two kinds of deal had been mixed up in a manner apparently experimental, but not so, probably, in reality: thus the frame of some part was of one kind, while the enclosed portion was of the other,—joined together by tenons, glue, and nails, in almost every form of connection known to carpenters. The lighter-coloured wood was very much damaged, and the other untouched, by the white ants: this gave rise to the inquiry whether the latter possessed any principle obnoxious to the insects, and portions of it were taken to other places in the town, where they were immediately attacked, and in a few weeks quite destroyed.

The houses in Jamestown, especially those towards the upper part of the town, are exposed to serious injury from a cause less easy to guard against than the destructive little white ant—the liability of rocks falling from the hills on each side of the town. Many of these overhang their base so far, or are so slightly retained in their position by surrounding material, that after long-continued rain it happens sometimes that one gets detached, and in rolling down the hill tears up others, and the whole, like a stream, rushes down into the valley. Fortunately these occurrences, although impending, are not frequent; and in several instances rocks have fallen into the town without causing loss of life or much damage to property.

It is not always so, however; for on the 10th of July, 1863, a fall of rocks on the eastern side of the town occurred, which broke into and nearly reduced to ruins eight or nine houses: two persons lost their lives, and several others were injured. The Governor has since caused a number of trees to be planted near the base of the hill, which, if allowed to grow up, may prove of signal benefit in arresting the falling rocks on future occasions.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### POPULATION, TRADE, ADMINISTRATION, AND SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE ISLAND.

THE population of Saint Helena numbers about 5,500, exclusive of the military and the casual, such as seamen and passengers. A census, taken on the 7th of April, 1861, gave as the number of inhabitants, 5,496; garrison, 948; and shipping, 416; in all, 6,860. Of this number, about 3,200 dwell permanently in Jamestown, exclusive of the troops in the barracks; and the number of houses in Jamestown in actual occupation may be stated as about 190 or 200.

The island exports nothing of its own production except as supplies to shipping in vegetables and poultry; and as the inhabitants depend entirely, or nearly so, on other places for cattle, rice, flour, potatoes, and some other articles absolutely necessary for food, the trade may be considered almost entirely an import one, as furniture, and all manufactured articles for domestic or personal use, as well as the necessary supplies of stores for the shipping in the shape of canvas, cordage, salted and preserved meats, wines, and liquors, are from Europe, and the latter merely placed in stores by the importers, until transferred to vessels from the eastward. The geographical position of the island being far removed from the track of *sailing ships* from Europe to the East, although *steamers* sometimes pass within sight, it neither derives nor imparts any benefit in connection with the outward bound trade; but, situated exactly in the track of the homeward bound sailing ships, it is a welcome halting-place for a short rest after the heavy buffeting of the Indian and Cape Seas, and is thus enabled to confer benefits which in return afford to it the means of continuing to do so. There are several mercantile and shipping agencies, deriving a very handsome return for their investments, the number of ships calling in during the year being about 1,100. Those which actually paid tonnage duty during the years 1857 to 1862, both inclusive, were 5,921 in number, averaging 987 in a year, and measuring  $3\frac{1}{4}$  million of tons, or 582,344 tons a year.

There are, in addition to these mercantile or wholesale houses, some nine or ten retail dealers or shopkeepers in Jamestown, whose business is not confined to one particular line or description of goods, but who keep for sale all kinds of things, in drapery, grocery, china, and *general* line. The assortment is perhaps better than might be expected, and the shop-

keepers buy houses and lands, educate their children in England, take a trip there sometimes themselves, keep dogs, horses, and carriages, and take out shooting licences. The Government is vested in the Governor, who is also, in virtue of his office, Vice-Admiral at the station, and is assisted by a Council, consisting of the Colonial Secretary, the Officer commanding the troops, and the Queen's Advocate.

The members of Council are styled Honourable; and in the event of the Governor's death or absence from the colony, his duties devolve on the Colonial Secretary. Local ordinances are passed by the Government, but do not take effect until approved by her Majesty.

The head of the Judicial establishment is "His Honour the Chief Judge," and he is assisted by the "Queen's Advocate." The Sheriff holds his appointment as an honorary one. There are three or four gentlemen licensed to act as attorneys, but they do not all practise. There is a Vice-Admiralty Court, the operations of which are in connection with the slaves captured by H. M. ships off the West Coast of Africa, and sent to Saint Helena for adjudication. There is also a Court of Commissioners, equivalent to the Court of Mixed Commission of several other places, for the trial of offences committed on the high seas. Minor cases of local occurrence are brought before a salaried Police Magistrate, and informations, &c., are taken by unpaid Justices of the Peace or magistrates, residing in various parts of the island. There is a police force, consisting of a superintendent, a sergeant, and some ten or twelve policemen, whose services fortunately are not often required for anything more serious than bearing off some jolly tar with too much wine aboard to the station-house.

The majority of the inhabitants being Episcopalians, and with few exceptions Protestants, the Church establishment is, of course, that of England. The island is divided into parishes, and clergymen are appointed to each. The establishment consists of the Metropolitan (the Bishop of Cape Town), the Bishop of the Diocese, which includes, besides Saint Helena, the islands of Ascension, Tristan d'Acunha, and the Falkland Islands, together with some stations on the eastern coast of South America, and six clergymen, whose duties are apportioned in the parishes according to the requirements of each one. There are also two military chaplains, one for the Protestants and one for the Roman Catholic portion of the troops in the garrison. The Baptist Mission Church is under a clergyman of that persuasion, assisted by lay members, and is well attended. The educational establishment is presided over by an "Inspector and Superintendent of Schools," and an annual grant of £680 is allowed by Government for educational purposes. The head school in Jamestown is of course the first on the list, although not so numerously attended as some others. This, with the "under school," the "girls' school," and a school for Africans, are called Government schools. There are in all thirteen or fourteen schools, including those in the country, attended by about 850 scholars, and one private ladies' school in Jamestown.

The civil hospital is a large and well-conducted establishment, of great benefit to the poorer classes of inhabitants as well as to seamen. The colonial surgeon is assisted in his duties by a dispenser, and the necessary staff of subordinates. The parish business is conducted by a board of

guardians and overseers of the poor, with the attendance of a medical officer.

The Customs' department comprises a collector and comptroller, who has four assistant officers, with the usual subordinate staff of landing waiters. The office is a conveniently arranged building, with large store-rooms for bonding goods in.

The "time office" is an establishment of great utility to shipping. It is situated in a position clearly open to the general anchorage, and a white ball is dropped daily from a mast-head at noon, local mean time, and again at one o'clock, Greenwich mean time, the difference of time being 22 min. 55 sec., due to west longitude  $5^{\circ} 42' 30''$ . The superintendence of the establishment is vested in the office of the Colonial Engineer, who is in charge of all public buildings and other property of the local government, roads, bridges, water supply, &c.

The post-office is under the management of a local postmaster, assisted by clerks, whose duties in the office are light enough generally, as there is no branch post-office or mail delivery out of Jamestown. Once a month, however, there is a little stir and bustle on the arrival of the mail-steamer from the Cape, bringing not only whatever correspondence there may be from the East, but also the letters and news from England, some two months old or nearly so, and which, strange as it may seem, passed the island within fifty, or at most one hundred miles, a month or six weeks before. The Union Mail Company's boats leave England on the 8th of each month for the Cape, frequently passing within sight of the island on the outward voyage, but only calling on the return voyage at Saint Helena and Ascension, with letters and passengers. The Diamond Steam Shipping have bi-monthly boats, which call at Saint Helena on the outward passage. Each of them delivers the mails and takes others on board, and after a stay of about six hours, leaves for Ascension. Some idea may be formed of the rush at the post-office in the anxiety to obtain letters, in order to reply, if possible, by the same vessel, and of the vexation afterwards when, on cool reflection of the nature of such hurried answers, some of them cannot be recalled. The fact being that the steamers go out to the Cape first, and call at Saint Helena and Ascension on the *return voyage only*, it is not easy to understand why the monthly notice in English papers should put forth that the steamer—*Saxon*, or *Roman*, or whichever it may be—will leave on such a day with the mails for *Ascension, Saint Helena*, and the Cape. The inconvenience attending the present arrangement is very great, and in days of rapid intercommunication there should not exist such an anomaly as that a person in Saint Helena, wishing to send a letter to the Cape, a place within seven or eight days' steaming, should find the quickest course for his letter in sending it to England, to be sent thence to its destination.

The Liberated African department is under the supervision of the senior commissariat officer at the station, and takes charge of the negroes brought to the island in or from the vessels captured by her Majesty's ships employed in the suppression of the slave trade on the West Coast of Africa. On their arrival these rescued negroes are taken to the establishment at Rupert's Valley, and lodged in the buildings erected for the purpose, and are kept there until suitable opportunities offer for forward-



ing them to the West Indies. During their detention at Rupert's, which sometimes lasts for several months, they are carefully attended to, well clothed and fed, and the sick lodged in a separate building fitted up as an hospital, which is visited daily by a medical officer.

The difference in their condition after a short stay at Rupert's, from what it was at the time of their arrival, is most striking. Worn almost to skeletons in the hold of a slave-ship, the horrors of which must be seen to be understood, the poor creatures on landing crouch down in the sitting position to which they have been restricted for weeks; emaciated, dirty, loathsome to the sight, and apparently regardless of everything about them, or of what is to be their next change. They present little more resemblance to human beings than do their own carved fetishes or grigrees. A few weeks of kind and careful treatment, nourishing food, and enforced habits of cleanliness, produce a wonderful change in their appearance and manner; they move with quickness and activity, walk erect, and chatter like their country's parrots. Being excellent imitators, they soon pick up from the assistant superintendent a series of motions in unison, sit down in rows to their meals at a motion of his hand, jump up at another, clap their hands, take off their caps, give three cheers, and replace their caps, all with the alacrity and precision of time of well-trained soldiers, or nearly so.

Speaking of their caps: they do not seem quite to appreciate that article of attire at first, regarding it rather as an encumbrance until, either by permission or when unobserved—it is not known which,—they stick the feather of a fowl or a brass button into it, when it acquires a value in relation to the amount of ornament, and is submitted to and displayed accordingly. They are clothed shortly after landing; and as the clothing is not "made to measure," but large enough to suit "all comers," the style of fit is sometimes rather droll, and no doubt is to them a source of much perplexity. A large proportion of the number are young boys of from seven to fifteen years of age, and it is very amusing to watch these urchins from the road which leads round Rupert's Hill. Their play appears to be in running after each other, and dodging in and out among the groups sitting or standing about; and sometimes a little fellow of three feet high, who by some, to him, mysterious dispensation, has become possessed of clothes that might fit a man of twice his height, is chased by some half-dozen boys bigger than himself. The sleeves of his jacket, and the continuations of his nether garments being twice the length of the limbs encased in them, he is in something the same plight with Dickens's "Artful Dodger," except that, not having acquired the experience possessed by that young gentleman in the management of his dress, he is much impeded in his course by its superfluity. With one hand he manages tolerably well to secure the sleeves, and with the other he clutches convulsively the more difficult lower appendages; he has nearly reached the goal, his pursuers being almost as much impeded by their clothes as he is, when suddenly his cap, being rather large, is taken off by a puff of wind; instinctively he grasps at the fly-away, but in doing so drops what he was so assiduously holding up, and down he goes like a shot; the others tumble over him, and form a *tableau vivant* in a confused mass of woolly heads and striped cotton. Perhaps in his struggles

to get on his legs, the little fellow, by some process wholly unknown to himself, gets out of his lower garments, and his look of astonishment at the feat he has performed is something comical. He stands perfectly aghast for a moment at the ruin he has caused in thus breaking himself to pieces, as he evidently thinks he has done, but, soon recovering his presence of mind, he inducts himself into the garment with an outward show of much satisfaction.

The women are dressed in long loose gowns secured round the body—waist would hardly be a suitable word,—and at first seem about as uncomfortable in their new style of raiment as they well can, evidently wishing it at the bottom of the Red Sea, or any other convenient piece of water with the geography of which they are perhaps better acquainted ; but they soon become accustomed to it, and like it well enough.

A short time ago a number of these rescued negroes were enlisted for the 5th West India Regiment, then being newly raised, and in an incredibly short space of time were changed into something so different from their former state, that no one could have recognized, in the erect, well set up, confident soldier, the miserable, crouching, degraded being that was squatting down, a heap of disease and filth, on the stony beach at Rupert's a few months before. That much of this alteration and improvement was due to the officers of the Saint Helena Regiment and to the drill-sergeants is indisputable ; but unless the required intelligence had existed in a latent form, ready for development when properly treated, so great a change could not have been produced by any human agency. The smart Zouave dress was particularly pleasing to the recruits ; the boots, from which they must have suffered most unmitigated torture, were especially valued, the delight of polishing them frequently inducing the wearer to walk across the barrack square for an excuse to repeat the operation on his return. Their salute to an officer when passing him was evidently considered among the high privileges of their new life, and it is extremely doubtful whether any monarch of Ashantee or Congo was ever more conscious of his dignity than the lucky fellows who were appointed to be lance-corporals. One hundred and fifty-five of these men left the island in April, 1864, for Jamaica.

The captors of the slaves and of slave vessels receive for each of the former five pounds sterling, and five pounds per ton measurement for the latter, and the vessels on arriving at Saint Helena are adjudicated and condemned ; they are then sold by public auction under the condition that they are to be immediately broken up. There are, it must be supposed, good and sufficient reasons why some of the finest models afloat, sometimes quite new, and obtained at certainly not a low price, should be sold to make firewood for the fiftieth part of what they are worth as sailing vessels. The number sent to Saint Helena during the year 1863, and condemned, was three. The number of rescued negroes sent to the island during the year was 1,026.

The island of Saint Helena is remarkable for the number and extent of its local, social, and charitable institutions, some of which have been established many years, and none are of very recent date ; so that there seems little doubt at present of the firm and sound nature of the institutions themselves, supported as they are by voluntary subscriptions of the

members, chiefly natives of the island, and not likely to leave it. Occupying a prominent place among these institutions is the Mechanics' Society; not what is commonly known as a mechanics' institute, but established and maintained for charitable purposes. It has been in existence since 1838, and numbers about 310 members. It includes all classes of the community, and its objects are "for the purpose of affording relief to members during illness, annuities to widows and orphans, and defraying funeral expenses of members and of their wives." An entrance fee, and monthly subscription, according to the age of applicants for admission, of moderate amount, entitle the member to those benefits after a certain period of regular subscription.

The Social Society was established in 1845, and numbers seventy-nine or eighty members. The object of this society is to raise from time to time, by voluntary contributions, in addition to subscription among the members, a fund for the benefit of widows and orphans of members, and for burial allowance. Its terms of entrance and subscription are on a higher scale than those of the Mechanics' Society, and its rates of relief correspondingly liberal.

The Poor Society dates from 1844, and its members are some 365 in number. The subscription is a small sum, paid monthly; and it seems almost a matter of surprise that the benefits conferred in the shape of allowances to sick and infirm members, and burial expenses in case of death, can be kept up out of so small an amount of receipts. These societies appear to be very well conducted, and are deservedly popular among the inhabitants.

There are several other societies similar in general principles to those referred to, but combining other objects, or differing, perhaps, in some points of detail. These are the Church Society, the objects of which are the extension of the Church of England throughout the colony and diocese, the support of clergymen, establishment of schools, and the dissemination of the gospel;—the Benevolent Society, which at its own expense maintains four free schools in the island, and the objects of which are the diffusion of religious and moral instruction among the lower classes of the island, and such other acts of charity and benevolence as may be deemed advisable and come within the means of the society;—the Benefit Society, the objects of which are stated to be "the appropriation of the funds of the society for the sole benefit of the subscribers." The Annuity Fund is open to all classes of society, and the payment of certain rates of subscription entitles the member's widow and children to a corresponding annuity. The Island Society is for the purpose of "aiding in the development of the resources of the island. There are two Freemasons' lodges—one the Saint Helena Lodge, No. 488, established in 1846; and the other the Old Rock Lodge, No. 912, established in 1862. The latter, although not restricted to military members, is at present composed of that branch of the community alone.

The military force of the island consists of artillery, engineers, and infantry, militia, and volunteers. The militia are a very valuable local force, and would do good service, as the majority are men accustomed to the precipitous ravines and ridges, and who walk with perfect ease and confidence on paths where nothing but a goat—except themselves—would venture. And the volunteers are a select body, well drilled, and accustomed

to the use of the rifle. The latter have a very good band, made up from amongst themselves, and maintained at considerable expense for instruments and music. There is one newspaper, a weekly publication, called the *Guardian*, which gives the local news, contains the advertisements of auctions, shipping intelligence, a monthly summary of European intelligence, and correspondents' letters.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### REVENUE, EXPENDITURE, AND IMPORTS OF SAINT HELENA.

THE amount of revenue for the year 1859 was £20,736, of which £16,062 were customs dues, and £675 for wine and spirit licences. The remainder was from a variety of local sources, sales of Government lands, assessed taxes, postage, &c. The actual expenditure during the year amounted to £20,175, of which £11,886 were for salaries and maintenance of public officials and establishments, £2,659 for public works and buildings, roads, streets, and bridges.

In the succeeding year, 1860, the actual revenue of the island amounted to £23,168, of which £16,610 were from the customs, £787 from wine and spirit licences, £1,260 from the proceeds of an estate forfeited by a conviction for felony, and the remainder from the usual sources of revenue—assessed taxes, postage, sales of Government property, &c. The actual expenditure during the year was £22,294, of which salaries and public establishments took £12,098; works and buildings, roads, streets, and bridges, £4,475.

The total value of articles imported into the island during the years 1859 and 1860 was £120,181 and £124,037 respectively; but of these articles many were merely landed to be reshipped, such as oil from the American whaling ships, and other goods. The amount or value of exports is stated, for the two years, as £21,465 and £10,896. In the year 1860 the number of horses imported was 9; of oxen, 267; sheep and goats, 2,202; of beer, 217 hogsheads, and 8,242 dozens; of flour, 3,208 packages, valued at £5,980; of rice, 10,857 bags; of spirits, 8,389 gallons; and of wine, 72,809 gallons. The number of horses in the island in that year was 230; of horned cattle, 1,625; of sheep, 4,230; and of goats, estimated as about 670. The average prices of articles of food were,—bread, 4d. to 5d. per lb.; beef, 1s. to 1s. 3d.; mutton, 1s. to 1s. 3d.; coffee, 1s. to 1s. 6d.; tea, 2s. to 2s. 6d.; sugar, 4d. to 6d.; butter, 2s. to 2s. 6d.; cheese, 2s.; rice, 2d.; Cape wine, of ordinary quality, 6s. per gallon; brandy, 30s. per gallon; and tobacco, 2s. per lb.

In that year, 1860, the quantity of cultivated land was ascertained to be 1,133 acres; pasture, 6,652; and waste land, about 21,515, assuming the area of the island to be 47 square miles, or 30,300 acres. The number of births registered during the year was 149, and of deaths, 193. Of the latter, 82 were under ten years of age, 13 over 70, and 4 over 90.

During the year 1863 the amount of revenue was £23,616 ; of which £8,272 was from duties paid at the Custom-house, on spirits, wine, and beer ; the fees paid for wharfage, tonnage, permits, and usual customs charges amounted to £5,984 ; and the supply of water to shipping produced the sum of £995. The sums paid for licences for the sale of wines and spirits amounted to £825, and including the licences for other pursuits to £1,290. The remainder of the revenue was made up from taxes, sales, and rent of Government lands, and the other ordinary sources of inland revenue. The total expenditure during the year amounted to £23,616.

The expense of the Civil establishment, with contingent expenditure, amounted to £14,562 ; the judicial, to £3,606 ; the ecclesiastical, to £676 ; miscellaneous expenditure, to £4,374 ; and pensions, to £398. Included in this expenditure is the sum of £5,714 for public buildings and works, including roads. The total value of all imports in the year 1863 was estimated at £110,537, and that of exports at £24,107. Included in the imports were 21 horses, 226 oxen, 2,662 sheep, 5,673 gallons and 11 casks of spirits, 73,017 gallons of wine, 72 hogsheads and 3,980 dozens of beer, and 5,800 bags of rice. The deliveries from the Customs' bonded warehouses for island consumption included 3,690 gallons of spirits, 68,180 gallons of wine, 81 hogsheads and 900 dozens of beer.

In reference to the sums named as the values of imports and exports, it is to be remembered that a large proportion of the imports are merely deposited in the island, as in a large storehouse, until suitable opportunities offer for forwarding them to their destination. Thus, in the year 1863, the value of whale oil brought to Saint Helena by vessels engaged in the southern whale fishery, for the purpose of being transhipped to other vessels, and forwarded, or exported, to the United States, or to Europe, was £18,480, and of whalebone, £1,250. Old copper from vessels broken up on the beach, such as condemned slavers, and valued at £1,515, is also included in the value of exports. Empty casks, which had previously been brought to the island with wine or spirits, and valued at £692, are included ; and so with other things : the only part which comes strictly within the meaning of colonial export being, perhaps, a portion of the £625, the value of the wool exported during the year. The number of vessels calling at the island was 927, of which 32 were ships of war of various nations. The tonnage of the merchant vessels, mail steamers, and whalers was registered at 536,368 tons ; 823 of these paid tonnage and port charges.

During the year, 110 births were registered, and 149 deaths ; of the latter, 41 were under 10 years, 5 over 60, 16 over 70, and 9 were upwards of 80 years of age. These returns showed favourably, when compared with the previous years, 1861 and 1862 ; the births and deaths registered in those years being, in 1861, 103 births and 211 deaths, and in 1862, 113 and 162. The number of schools and of scholars attending them is stated in the official returns for the three years 1861, 2, and 3, as 16, 14, and 13 schools, with 1,000, 946, and 851 scholars.

The area of the island being estimated at 30,300 acres, and the average amount of cultivated land at 1,133 acres, the quantity under crop in 1863 amounted to 449 acres, of which 225 were sown with wheat, 80 with barley and oats, and 144 produced roots of various kinds, chiefly turnips and mangel-wurzel. The pasture land was estimated at 7,662

acres, and the uncultivated land at 21,515 acres. The number of horses in the island was 250 ; of horned cattle, 1,200 ; of sheep, 4,200 ; of goats, about 600 ; and of donkeys, a most useful animal in Saint Helena, about 800.

## CHAPTER XV.

### SAINT HELENA UNDER THE "OLD" EAST INDIA COMPANY.

STARTING from a few years prior to the establishment of the famous East India Company, we read that the island, the subject of these pages, was discovered on the 21st of May, 1501, by Don Juan de Nova, who was in command of certain vessels returning to Portugal from India. The credit of the discovery has been given to the celebrated voyager Vasco de Gama, but the testimony is in favour of De Nova, who gave to his newly found territory the name of Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine ; the day of its discovery being that of the anniversary of her birth.

It is traditionally recorded that De Nova lost one of his ships on the rocky coast of the island, and such an event is not unlikely to have occurred. He is said to have found seals, sea-lions, and turtle on the shores, but no animals inland ; and from this period dates the tradition that the interior of the island was one entire forest, and that the cliffs overhanging the sea were covered with gumwood trees. From that time until 1513 nothing of interest appears to have occurred with regard to the island, but in that year a Portuguese nobleman who had deserted from the army commanded by Alphonso Albuquerque, and joined the Indian commander Mocus, was delivered up to his former commander on the occasion of a victory gained by the Portuguese near Goa, and having been fearfully mutilated in punishment for his desertion, was sent with other similarly degraded apostates on board ship to return to Europe.

This nobleman, Fernandez Lopez by name, unwilling to return to his native country in his mangled and degraded condition, requested to be left at Saint Helena ; on the vessel in which he had embarked touching there for water, and his request being granted, he was landed accordingly, and by the kindness of the captain of the ship, provided with a good supply of poultry, some goats and hogs, and permitted to retain some negro slaves who had been brought from Madagascar in the vessel.

This was the first settlement on the island, and shortly afterwards some ships from India called in and furnished Lopez with seeds and plants, together with a quantity of wild fowl, the whole of which succeeded so well that in a short time the little community were abundantly supplied with all the actual necessities of life in their secluded abode. Lopez appears to have been a man of considerable energy, and possessed of knowledge and taste in all matters likely to conduce to the well-doing of the inhabitants of his little colony ; he selected the most suitable spots

for the various fruits and vegetables, with the seeds of which he had been furnished, and so well managed the breeding of the stock left with him, that when he was removed from the island, after having resided there about four years, the whole had increased to such an extent that the face of the country was overspread with them.

After the departure of Lopez, the island continued to improve so much that it became an established stopping-place for the Portuguese in their voyages from India, not merely on account of water and fresh provisions, but also as a sanitorium for sailors and troops suffering from scurvy and other diseases incident to long confinement in crowded ships, and who were left at Saint Helena to be picked up by some succeeding vessel when sufficiently recovered to proceed on their voyage. The Portuguese at that time enjoyed a very profitable trade with India, and the importance of keeping the existence of Saint Helena unknown to other European countries was so apparent to them that every endeavour was made to prevent its becoming known. This, however, could only be done in a negative way, and it is rather a matter of surprise that they succeeded in keeping the secret to themselves so long; for of the vessels that called at the island, some must have contained passengers or crews who did not feel that interest in the affairs of Portugal, that would effectively close their mouths on the subject of Saint Helena, when in other parts of the world than Portugal; and although the best outward and homeward tracks for sailing vessels were not at that time so well known as they have since become, yet any vessel bound from the East to Europe, and following the most obviously direct and favourable course, could hardly avoid sighting the island.

It seems difficult to believe that it was not seen by any English navigator; but no such event is recorded until 1588, when Captain Cavendish, returning from his circumnavigating voyage, got sight of Saint Helena on the 8th of June in that year. He anchored his ship on the following day, and, in his own words, "About two or three o'clock in the afternoon we went on shore in Chappell Valley, where we found an exceeding fair and pleasant valley, wherein divers handsome buildings and houses were set up; and one particularly, which was a church, was tiled, and whitened on the outside very fair, and made with a porch; and within the church at the upper end was set an altar," &c.

He afterwards goes on:—"There are two houses adjoining to the church, on each side one, which served for a kitchen to dress meat in, with necessary rooms and houses of office. The coverings of the said houses are made flat, where is planted a very fair vine; and through both the said houses runneth a good and wholesome stream of fresh water." Near the church was a cross, "squared, framed, and made very artificially of freestone, whereon is carved in ciphers what time it was built, which was in the year of our Lord 1571."

The fig trees appear to have been especially admired by Cavendish; "for on every tree you may see blossoms, green figs, and ripe figs all at once, and it is so all the year long." The cause of this great fertility is stated by him to be "that the island standeth so near the sun." Partridges were abundant. "You cannot go," he says, "ten or twelve score paces but you shall spring one or two coveys at least." Goats were

very numerous. In his quaint language he describes the flocks as consisting of "one or two hundred together, and sometimes you may see them go in a flock almost a mile long; some of them are as big as an ass, with a mane like a horse, and a beard hanging down to the very ground."

In the year 1591 the first English expedition to India sailed from London, and Captain Kendall, of the ship *Royal Merchant*, visited Saint Helena on the voyage. The expedition consisted of three ships, only one of which, the *Bonaventure*, Captain Lancaster, succeeded in reaching India. Captain Lancaster, after many disasters, visited Saint Helena on his return voyage in April, 1593.

In 1596 a second English expedition sailed for India, but of the three ships of which it consisted not one returned; but the prospects of a wide field for commercial operations were now so encouraging, that, in no way daunted by the misfortunes attending the two attempts that had met with such disaster, the formation of the East India Company was shortly afterwards commenced, and ratified by Queen Elizabeth in 1600. The Company began their operations with a capital of seventy-two thousand pounds, the greater part of which was expended in the purchase of four ships, that immediately sailed for India under the command of Captain Lancaster, who had previously commanded the *Bonaventure*. These vessels were more fortunate than those which had gone before, as they reached their destination in safety. Negotiations for trading were concluded, and two of the ships sailed for England, loaded with spices; and the others, with Captain Lancaster, soon afterwards followed them, but encountering rough weather off the Cape of Good Hope, put into Saint Helena for repairs, and then, proceeding on their voyage, arrived in England in September, 1603. The utility of Saint Helena was not, however, yet fully recognized, although the Dutch and Spaniards, in addition to the English, frequently called at the island; and the Portuguese, who had hitherto held possession of it, abandoned it early in the 17th century.

The Dutch, who had subsequently taken possession of the island, established a colony at the Cape, and left Saint Helena in 1651. The East India Company, who had now assumed a prominent position, took possession of the island immediately after the Dutch had abandoned it, and formed a settlement upon it for the purposes of their ships trading to India, and ten years afterwards obtained from King Charles the Second a charter confirming their possession of the island.

In virtue of this charter the Company were authorized to construct works of defence, and to supply the young settlement with stores of every kind required for the establishment and maintenance of a colony. The powers of framing laws and inflicting punishments were also granted to the Governor and Company, and, in fact, all the rights and privileges usually considered as the prerogatives of despotic Governments were embodied in the charter; and if not specifically described as such, the power of exercising them was easily to be extracted from the loose wording of the document.

It appears, from the accounts of the island recorded in Anderson's "History of Commerce," although the whole of the affairs are not given in detail, that the Dutch regretted having abandoned the island, and



taking advantage of the difficulty the Company found in getting out stores and munitions of war in the year 1665, when Great Britain was at war with Holland, they made a successful attack on Saint Helena, and again took possession of the island. They were driven out again, however, in less than a year, the Company having obtained ships and troops from England.

The expediency of constructing works of defence now became apparent to the Company; and the population of the little colony having received a considerable increase by the arrival from England of a large number of people who had lost their properties in the great fire in London in 1666, the necessary amount of labour for the purpose was at hand, and accordingly a small port or redoubt was constructed in James's Valley, which, as well as the fort, was honoured with the name of the Duke of York, afterwards King James the Second. From that time until 1672 or 1673, no authentic records are in existence of the events which occurred: the names of the Governors are said to have been Dutton, Stringer, Swallow, Coney, and Bennett.

In the year 1672, when under the government of Captain Beale, an attempt was made by the Dutch to retake the island, but on their first attack at Lemon Valley they were repulsed by quantities of stones rolled down upon them from the high mountains on each side of the ravine. They withdrew for the night, but early on the following morning they again landed, and succeeded in reaching the interior at a part near High Peak. Various traditions are extant about the manner in which the landing and subsequent ascent were brought to a successful termination; it is said that a planter near Swanley Valley guided the enemy up the difficult pass, and it is also asserted that it was one of this planter's slaves who did so: it matters little whether either of the accounts is correct; the enemy had obtained possession of the heights and interior of the island, and pushed on towards Jamestown. Some skirmishing took place at one or two points, and on the Dutch forces arriving at Ladder Hill, the Governor, perceiving the utter uselessness of attempting to hold Fort James against them, retired with the members of his Government on board some French and English ships lying at anchor, and the island became again a Dutch colony.

The officer placed in charge by the commander of the expedition did not, however, enjoy his newly acquired dignity any great length of time; the ex-Governor Beale and his followers sailed towards the coast of South America, and shortly afterwards arrived at Brazil, where they fell in with an English squadron consisting of the *Assistance*, the *Levant*, and the *Castle* (fireship), of the Royal Navy. The ship *William and Thomas*, belonging to the East India Company, joined them, and the whole, under the command of Sir Richard Munden, made the necessary preparations, and sailed to Saint Helena.

The fleet arrived at the island on the 14th of May, 1673, and early on the following morning the attacking force was landed safely at a part on the windward side of the island, the place of their landing receiving in consequence the name of Prosperous Bay. The party consisted of 200 men under the command of Captain Kedgwin, an officer of the *Assistance*. Fortunately, when ex-Governor Beale was at Brazil, a slave who had left

the island at the same time with him, and had been sold to a planter there, was redeemed by him, and returned with the expedition to Saint Helena. This man was well acquainted with the coast, and with the points most easily accessible, and he conducted the attacking force to a part of the steep precipitous rocks forming the boundary of Prosperous Bay, which the party contrived to ascend, although the passage was very difficult. One of the party scrambled up at the risk of his life, taking with him a ball of string, one end of which he threw down from the point he had reached: a rope being attached to this, was drawn up by him and secured to some projecting rocks at the summit. Means of ascent for the remainder of the party being thus obtained, the whole force was soon collected together on the heights above the bay. Tradition states that the bold fellow who achieved the feat of climbing up the dangerous pass was encouraged by his comrades below, who shouted to him, "Hold fast, Tom! hold fast, Tom!" Whether the story be true or not, the place has from that time to the present borne the name of Holdfast Tom.

The party then proceeded through Longwood, to Hutt's Gate, arriving there shortly after daybreak, and after a halt of a couple of hours for rest and refreshment, pushed on along the top of the ridge until they arrived at the part overlooking the town on the east side.

Just at the same time Sir Richard Munden arrived in front of the town with the vessels from which the attacking party had landed, and the Dutch Governor, perceiving the uselessness of attempting to hold the town or fort, immediately surrendered.

The Dutch Government, as soon as the intelligence of the successful landing of their forces, and the capture of the island, had reached Holland, despatched a ship with a Governor on board to assume the command; but the subsequent recapture of the island by Sir Richard Munden had been so quietly planned and conducted, that the new Governor had no suspicion of what had occurred, and landed immediately on his arrival, to find himself a prisoner. Shortly after, a fleet of six richly laden Dutch vessels returning from India were induced to come in by the stratagem of displaying the Dutch flag on the fort, and two of them were captured by Sir Richard; the others escaped simply by the English being too impatient, and instead of waiting until they had anchored, rushing to seize them while still under sail.

On leaving the island, Sir Richard Munden left the government in the hands of Captain Kedgwin, with a garrison of about one hundred and sixty men taken from the ships in which they had come from the coast of Brazil; amongst the officers was a Captain Field, who was afterwards Governor of the island.

On the 16th of December, 1673, a new charter was granted by the king (Charles II.), in virtue of which the East India Company became the possessors of Saint Helena, under the title of the Lords Proprietors, with rights and powers of sovereignty, the building and maintaining of forts, framing of laws, inflicting punishments even to that of death, and exercising their own judgment in the appointment of governors and subordinate officers, both civil and military. Two ships were fitted out for the conveyance of settlers, stores, provisions, and munitions of war, and despatched as soon as possible to the island. Meanwhile the arrangements for establishing a

regular system of government were entered upon ; and as Captain Kedgwin did not desire to remain at Saint Helena, a commission was sent out, appointing Captain Field the Governor, and a council of four members, including Captain Beale, who was also nominated Deputy Governor. Laws were passed for promoting the interests of immigrants from England, by granting land and cattle to them immediately on arrival, and issuing provisions to them free of charge for a period of nine months after their arrival. Those who took up the grant of land on the windward side of the island received forty acres, being double the quantity given to those who settled near the fort, on account of the extreme difficulty of travelling, as no roads had then been made ; each family received also two cows. Inducements were freely offered, in land and cows always, to the younger settlers to marry the daughters or widows of planters ; and every proprietor was bound to maintain, for every ten acres of land in his possession, one Englishman, who was to live on the premises, and to take his turn at certain intervals in mounting guard. This was afterwards commuted for pecuniary contribution.

Orders were given that in building houses in Chapel Valley, as the site of Jamestown was at first called, attention should be paid to placing them so as to form a regular street, and for the construction of works of defence. The Governor and Council were directed to consult all captains of ships (merchant ships as well as armed vessels) as to the best system of defence to be adopted. The Lords Proprietors must have had great confidence in a multitude of counsel. The regular military force consisted at first of two companies ; but as the number of settlers from England increased, the Court of Directors ordered the garrison to be reduced to fifty regular troops, and the inhabitants to be armed and trained to such an amount of military practice as would enable them to defend the island in case of attack.

The social arrangements appear to have been at first of a somewhat comprehensive kind, for Mr. Brooke, from whose "History of Saint Helena," published in 1808, much of the information here given is extracted, tells us that from the produce of the Company's lands and plantations a public table was maintained, at which not only the Governor and Council and principal officers sat, but with them the head artificers and the sergeant of the guard. This rather original custom was not abolished until the year 1718, when, in a letter addressed to the Court of Directors, the Governor and Council give their opinion "that nobody ought to sit at table with him that is not cleanly dressed, and that has an infectious distemper upon him, or that is drunk."

This expression of opinion seems to have been in connection with a resolution sent out by the Board in October of the previous year, that "likewise in the Governor's absence there shall stand a salt upon the table, which shall be placed below the Council and Chaplain. Those who sit above that salt shall always drink as they think proper, either wine or punch ; but those who sit below that salt shall have to two persons one common bowl of punch, which contains about three pints ; if but three, the same ; if four, two ; if five, no more ; and if six persons, three bowls of punch ; or in case of wine instead thereof, one bottle for each bowl of punch."

The salaries of the principal officers, including that of the Governor,

were not on what would now be called a *liberal* scale; the Governor received a salary of £50 per annum, and a gratuity of £50; the Deputy Governor, who was also a captain and storekeeper, was paid £50 alone as yearly salary; the minister, unhappily named Swindle, received £50 as the salary of his office, and £25 for acting as schoolmaster, and, in addition, a gratuity of £25.

As the population of the island increased, it became necessary to frame laws for their better government; but as those laws were founded on the principles of the code in force at Bombay, it could hardly be wondered at that they were found unsuited to the wants of a place so very differently circumstanced, and in a very short time after the establishment of these new laws, the Governor and Council were recommended by the Court of Directors to limit trials by jury to cases affecting life, limb, or land, all matters of less import to be settled by themselves; and they were recommended not to have their "heads troubled with nice points of the common law of England, but rather, on considering the reason of things, to adjudge of all cases in a summary way, according to equity and a good conscience, without tedious delays or countenancing litigious persons in their vexatious prosecutions."

The laws relating to the establishment of churches and schools,—or rather of a church and scholars,—and for the observance of morality in conduct and speech, were such as might be expected to emanate from a body of men anxious that their servants should be true and faithful to themselves, but at the same time as good men of business, open to an arrangement for condoning any of the little peccadilloes of which they might now and then be guilty. Thus swearing was punished by a fine of one shilling; drunkenness by a fine of five shillings; and profanation of the Lord's day, five shillings. Other social delinquents were left to the Governor and Council to punish; and stealing appears to have been carefully guarded against; "Any one taking from another that which do not belong unto him, using any violence, breaking open any house, room, or cupboard that was locked," was to restore to the owner whatever had been stolen, and three times the value thereof in addition. His or her estate, or what might remain of it after that penalty, and paying his just debts, was to be forfeited to the Company; the thief was to be exposed in the pillory, whipped from thence to the prison, and be there left to the discretion of the Governor and Council, to be either discharged, or made to work at the fortifications of the island.

Forgery and perjury were punishable by heavy fines and exposure for three public days in the pillory; murder and sedition, or conspiracy, were made capital crimes, to be punished by death; but in 1705 the law was changed, the crime of wilful murder alone being left on the list of capital crimes.

The introduction of slavery took place at the first attempt at forming a settlement on the island; and various laws respecting the negroes were passed at different times. Some of those laws appear to have had for their object the increase of that branch of the population, while others could only tend towards their extinction.

In 1683 a law was passed permitting planters to import negroes for their own purposes, on certain conditions, and every Madagascar shin

calling at the island was compelled to leave one negro, either male or female, at the Governor's election, to work on the Company's plantations. Laws for the punishment of any offences committed by slaves were enacted, of a most stringent kind ; but very little seems to have been done for their benefit or protection. Wandering from their master's plantation on Sunday, without a written permission, was punished with ten lashes on the naked body for the first offence, twenty for the second, and so on. A slave stealing anything of the value of six shillings was to be punished by fifty lashes immediately, and to be secured ; two days afterwards, thirty lashes ; and two days after that punishment, a third of twenty lashes. For a first offence of housebreaking the slave was to receive immediately one hundred lashes ; in four days, thirty lashes ; in six days, twenty lashes, and to be branded in the forehead with the letter R ; the third offence was to be punished with death. Striking with the hand a white person, for any cause whatever, even in self-defence, subjected the offender, if a male slave, to a most odious and abominable mode of punishment, and if he chanced to die under the operation, his value to the owner was made good at the expense of the public. The punishment for a female slave for that offence was being severely whipped, both ears to be cut off, and to be branded in the forehead and both cheeks. Striking a white person with any weapon was punished with death. Trucking or exchanging any article, if of the value of one shilling, subjected both parties to twenty lashes, to be severely inflicted at the flagstaff.

It was only in 1792 that laws were passed by which the condition of the slaves was in any respect improved, or any protection afforded them against the cruelties which such laws as had been in force previously not only permitted but indirectly encouraged ; even the new code—although in abrogating the old one it doubtless relieved the slave from a great deal of hardship—fell short of what might have been afforded in the way of enforcing better treatment of their slaves by the planters, who still retained the power of inflicting corporal punishment for any act which they might deem an offence, however trifling, but they were not to exceed twelve lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails.

In 1818 an act was passed and promulgated, declaring that all children born of slaves after Christmas day of that year should be free citizens ; and in 1832 the freedom of all the slaves in the island, then numbering 644, was purchased by the Company at an expense of £28,000.

The Company entered into an arrangement with the Dutch Government shortly after the recapture of the island, by which Dutch vessels were exempted from the heavy duties levied on all other ships calling for water or provisions, on condition that their (the Company's) vessels calling at the Cape should enjoy a similar privilege ; but very heavy duties were levied on any vessels trading to the eastward, and indirectly interfering with what the Company thought was, or ought to be, their exclusive right. In 1683 an order was sent out to the Governor to refuse supplies to any ship of this class of interlopers, until a duty amounting to twenty shillings per ton should first have been paid by the ship either in money or goods. This was in fact very far exceeded by the local authorities, who on several occasions, under pretence of some infringement of port regulations, confiscated the ship and cargo. Vessels under Ostend colours were

sometimes fired into to enforce their immediate departure, when their crews were absolutely suffering from want of water.

Taxes on cattle, on goods landed or embarked, a poll tax, and some others, were gradually brought to bear on the population, and the Governor and Council became very unpopular in consequence.

Owing to a want of energy on the part of Government, no steps appear to have been taken to put a stop to the seditious meetings which ensued from the mutterings of discontent not having been noticed; and as, unfortunately, the ringleaders were encouraged, by the conduct of the chaplain at the time, to persevere in their illegal course of proceeding, open revolt was anticipated to take place, and quiet people lived in dread of their lives.

The Company were also very unfortunate in their selection of chaplains: one insulted the Governor and Council by openly refusing to recognize their authority; another was censured by the Court of Directors, as an encroaching, avaricious person; a third was bound over to keep the peace for having sworn that he would murder one of his neighbours who had annoyed him. As many as nine or ten instances might be recited of the chaplains having been drunken, immoral persons, quite unfit for holding the office to which they had been appointed. At length the smothered flame burst forth with open revolt; in the year 1687, a soldier, by name Allen Denison, headed a band of some sixty disaffected planters and others, and proceeded to attack the fort, demanding that the Governor, Captain Holden, should be given up to them. Three of their number were killed by the guard, and the rest retreated, and being followed by the guard, took refuge in a house occupied by one Bowyer; the guard fired in upon them, killed one man and wounded several others, besides taking six or seven prisoners, and the revolt was suppressed. At a trial of the prisoners which took place about two months afterwards, four of them were found guilty of mutiny; two—namely, Bowyer and Clarke—were hanged, the others banished to Bermuda.

Either the example shown was not sufficient to quell the disaffection, which was more widely spread than the Government suspected, or the grounds for the disaffection, if any existed, were not removed, for we find that shortly after these occurrences a Captain Hood, who arrived at Saint Helena from Bombay, induced the relatives of the men who had been executed, and others on the island, to forward a memorial to the House of Commons, representing that what had been called an attack on the fort was in reality a peaceable attempt on the part of the inhabitants to obtain redress of grievances, and praying for punishment to be inflicted on the Governor, with restitution of forfeited property.

The House of Commons passed a resolution declaring the Company to have acted in an arbitrary and illegal manner; but the Court of Directors held on to their charter as their authority for their acts, and directed the Governor to "make it your business to undeceive those ignorant inhabitants by convincing them, as the truth is, that we are entrusted by his Majesty with sovereign power in that island, and that we will govern them by martial law as often as we or you find it necessary." Several projects were started for rendering the island of more value to its proprietors than it had hitherto been; such as planting sugar-cane, collecting saltpetre, making salt,

growing cotton and indigo ; but all failed. Fruit-trees of various kinds were imported, and from some of those—the apple, peach, and pear, in particular—the island now possesses its stock of fruit ; but the quality appears to have degenerated. Provisions became plentiful, and were sold at very low rates ; but as the demand for vegetables and live stock increased with the prosperity and trade of the Company, prices became higher ; still they were not ruinous, for we find by a list published by Mr. Brooke in his work before referred to, that in 1707 veal was 6d. per pound, pork 4d., bacon 10d., live hogs 2d. per lb. ; a sheep 20s., a goat 8s., a fowl 1s., a turkey 5s., potatoes 4s. a bushel, and butter 10d. per pound. Immense numbers of eggs were also gathered round the sea-shore, on the collecting of which, as well as on the killing of *sea-cows*, of which it appears some considerable numbers were captured yearly in the early part of the last century, a tax was levied.

An event, however, to which we must go back, occurred in the year 1693, when one Henry Jackson, a soldier in the garrison, with thirteen others, planned a bold plot to plunder the treasury, and escape by a vessel then lying in the harbour. Jackson, being on duty at the Fort, admitted the conspirators on the evening of the 21st of April, and delivered the keys, for the night, to the Governor. During the night the surgeon and other officials, and the servants who lived within the Fort, were seized, and imprisoned in a filthy cellar, except four, who were induced by threats of instant death to join in the conspiracy.

Early on the following morning the Governor, on coming out to give the keys of the Fort to Jackson, was seized, and in the scuffle that ensued was fired at and mortally wounded. During the day several persons coming into town were made prisoners, and Jackson, with the mutineers, proceeded to gather up the treasure, and such valuable articles as they could conveniently remove, and took their plunder on board the vessel, first spiking and dismounting such guns as could be brought to bear on her, and taking with them the Deputy Governor and three other gentlemen as hostages against any attack from those who remained true to their allegiance.

The following evening one of these, Mr. Goodwin, was allowed to go on shore to procure supplies for the ship, without which Jackson said he would not leave the island. After some parleying the necessary supplies were obtained, and the mutineers weighed anchor and sailed, carrying with them, until out of gunshot of the island, all the gentlemen who were on board. They were put into a boat when a few miles off the land, and allowed to return to the shore. The vessel then made sail ostensibly for America, but it was believed for Ireland.

The boldness of this attempt, and its complete success, are remarkable. For fourteen men to make prisoners of all the Government officials, and in open day plunder the treasury, seize a ship lying at anchor, and get away clear with their booty, seems almost incredible. Whether an instance of such remarkable success shook the faith in the strength of the Government which previously had existed in the minds of the loyal inhabitants, who would appear to have been, in fact, but few in number, or to whatever cause it is to be ascribed, it is certain that a spirit of

insubordination spread rapidly through the community and pervaded all classes—soldiers, planters, and negroes.

A few months after the departure of Jackson a conspiracy was formed among some negroes to escape, by taking a ship and proceeding in her to their native country. Some of the details of the plot must have been of horrible conception, if we are to judge of the intensity of the crime by the severity of the punishment, especially as the crime was not perpetrated, its discovery having fortunately been made in time to prevent its being carried out. Yet in addition to repeated and severe flogging inflicted on the ordinary members of the conspiracy, two of the principals were “hanged and cut down alive, their bowels taken out, and their quarters and heads put up in conspicuous places for the public view of all negroes.” The ringleader, or chief conspirator, was “hanged in chains *alive* on Ladder Hill, and starved to death.”

## CHAPTER XVI.

### SAINT HELENA UNDER THE UNITED COMPANY TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES.

THE formation of a “New East India Company” was a sudden shock to the ideas of the existing one, and the latter, among other regulations which they made for the purpose of harassing the “interlopers,” passed a resolution that any vessel belonging to the New Company requiring water at Saint Helena could only obtain it by paying a duty of twenty shillings per ton, as has before been mentioned. One of the New Company’s ships shortly afterwards came in, and the captain, desirous of evading this tax, sent a boat well manned and armed to one of the valleys for water; but the Governor sent a party of men to the heights over the valley, with orders to roll stones down on the watering party. On the uniting of the two Companies, which soon afterwards took place, the title was changed, and Saint Helena was transferred to the “United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.”

After the death of Captain Poirier the government was given to Captain Roberts, who arrived at the island in 1708, and to his vigorous and new mode of action may be ascribed the improved condition which the island soon assumed. Laws which had been allowed to remain a dead letter were enforced; and while a due observance of all necessary subordination was kept up, the means employed were of a kind which rendered them less obnoxious than they had previously been. Endeavours were made to improve the cultivation of land and the breed of cattle, trees were planted, and fences completed without delay. Lime-burning was carried on to a considerable extent, which gave employment to a good many, and their energies were roused by the offer of rewards for the discovery of gold or copper mines. The idea of the manufacture of sugar was revived, and samples of rum, wine, and brandy were submitted by the Governor to the Council.



So elated were this august body with the success that had crowned these new efforts, that on the 15th of August, 1710, a resolution was passed to the effect that "a pound or two" (of sugar) "be sent to our honourable masters by the next shipping, and that they may be acquainted that we have found the following articles since Governor Roberts came here, viz.:—Lime, tyles, brick, cutstones for building, sugar, rum, mineralls of severall sorts,—upon which we are now resolved to fire some guns, to drink our honourable masters' good health and success to the island; for we are well sattisfied will turn to account, and not be a dead charge, as it ever has been, if our honourable masters will be pleased to encourage it, and supply these people with necessarys; and then there will be no aversion against improvements, but showers of blessings of these people will come to them." Although, in spite of the nine guns, and the convivial resolution coupled with them, the discoveries which had been made did not all produce much of the prosperity that was expected to result from them, yet the activity and energy displayed by the Governor encouraged the planters to do more than they had previously been in the habit of doing with their lands, and decayed fences and ruined plantations were replaced by well-managed farms; idle and drunken habits were replaced by industry and sobriety, and the condition of the people was improved in a corresponding degree.

The old laws, which had been for some time so little regarded as to leave it uncertain whether they were neglected or actually obsolete, and which Governor Roberts had undertaken to revive, became the subject of a respectful petition to the Governor; and his reply to that application—taking up their requests as to such law separately—was given in terms firm and plain, but yet so conciliating and kind, that the inhabitants were satisfied, and the grumbling and discontent that had so long troubled the peace of the island seemed to have given way to contentment and happiness.

But no governor could please every one, and as Captain Roberts had in his impartial administration of justice created some enemies, he was assailed by indirect attacks, and misrepresentations of his conduct were secretly sent to the Court of Directors.

Captain Roberts having heard something of these proceedings, requested to be relieved from his government; and the Court of Directors sent out a Captain Boucher to assume the charge of the government, in 1711. Soon after the arrival of his successor, Captain Roberts asked for a strict investigation of all or any of the acts of his government, publicly declaring his desire to replace to the uttermost farthing any injury or loss he had caused through oppression or injustice. The reply he received was so ungracious and insulting, that Captain Roberts embarked on board the *Mead*, frigate, and sailed for England.

The Court of Directors took a liberal view of the case, and in their observations to the Governor expressed their opinion that the charge made against Captain Roberts was false and groundless; and that the letter written to Captain Roberts by Governor Boucher and the Council "appeared more like a contention about words, and was rather filled with the art and sophistry of the schools than solid reasoning and plain argument."

Governor Boucher's taste appears to have been more for donkeys than for local improvements : so fond was he of taking exercise on the backs of these animals, that he laid waste a great part of the garden that had been formed at the Governor's house (Plantation, now called), and built a shed four hundred feet in length on it, in which he might enjoy his favourite pastime in wet weather. The cost of this shed he was made to refund upon handing over the government to Captain Bazett, in 1714. This gentleman did not hold the office very long, being succeeded nine days afterwards by Governor Pyke, who with one short intermission continued in office until 1719, when he was succeeded by Mr. Edward Johnson.

The Government passed to several other persons during some years, in which no very remarkable events occurred, until 1731, when Governor Pyke was again appointed to the island ; but his administration of the office was on this occasion rendered so hateful by his arbitrary and tyrannical conduct, that the Court of Directors were at length induced to direct his dismissal from the office. His death, in 1738, occurred before the receipt of the order.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### SEPARATE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION ESTABLISHED.

In the year 1746 Mr. Hutchinson was appointed Governor of Saint Helena, and under his wise administration the island appears to have flourished for some years. In 1759 the establishment of the local Government underwent a change by which two distinct branches were formed—*Civil and Military*,—and one of the results of that arrangement was a consideration of the laws which had previously been in force. Those which affected the mutual relations between a white man and a coloured man were especially considered, with a view to some alleviation of their severity, and some improvements were effected ; but it was only at a much later period that blacks were permitted to appear as evidence against the white inhabitants.

During the years 1760, 1761, and 1762 the island sustained very severe losses by disease and death among the cattle ; the cause of which was not satisfactorily discovered. Governor Hutchinson continued in office for eighteen years, when he retired on a handsome allowance, and was succeeded by Mr. Skottowe, who held the office for a similar period ; and in 1782 handed the government to Mr. Corneille.

In 1783 another mutiny of an alarming character broke out among the troops, ostensibly on account of some reductions in the quantity of spirits issued to them, or to the manner in which it was issued. The Governor, by a bold and spirited line of conduct, induced the mutinous to return ; but the objectionable arrangements of the canteen having been rescinded the next day, and the punch-houses allowed to be reopened, the men became riotous under the influence of liquor, and broke out again.

In several rencontres that took place, lives were lost on both sides, but at length the mutineers were obliged to yield to superior and better managed force. At a court-martial which was held for the trial of the

prisoners, ninety-nine were condemned to death, but the carrying out the sentence was limited to ten of the most dangerous, and the rest were pardoned.

The closing of the punch-houses has been referred to as the cause of this outbreak on the part of the troops, and there appears every reason to believe that on this as well as previous occasions the exciting element was to be found in the intoxicating liquor which was allowed to be so freely dispensed to the inhabitants. Notwithstanding a law which provided a punishment for drunkenness, the Government passed another law, which, to say the least of it, certainly placed within easy reach the liability of incurring the penalty for drinking too freely.

The quaint style of the lawgivers of those days is rather amusing, and the one referred to may be quoted as a specimen. This "declaration," as it was called, was "issued out" in 1709:—"These are to give notice to all lycencees or retaylers of strong liquors, that a bowle of punch, made with one pint of arrack, with sugar and lemon answerable, be from the day of the date hereof sold at two shillings per bowle, and no more, which arrack is at six shillings per gallon; and if any one presumes to exact more, shall, upon information thereof given to the Governor and Council, forfeit their license and double the value, which pint of arrack aforesaid is to be put into such sizeable bowle as will not be too strong nor yet too weak, but palatable and pleasant for the buyer." It is not difficult to imagine that drunkenness was not uncommon.

In 1788, Mr. Brooke arrived to relieve Governor Corneille, who had requested to be allowed to retire. Governor Brooke, during the fifteen years that he held office, effected very important improvements in the affairs of the island generally; he established a strong military force for the garrison, placed the civil functionaries on more satisfactory standing than they had previously occupied, amended many of the harsh laws respecting slaves and their treatment, substituted for the flogging, to which all classes had been liable for certain offences, a mode of punishment intended to rouse a sense of shame by the culprits being separated from their comrades, and formed into a "*Misceants' Mess*," in which the provisions were of inferior quality, and the members of which were deprived of the indulgences granted to the well-conducted men. They were also compelled to work at road-making, or any other desirable improvements, and by this means the ground was cleared of filth and rubbish, and a large and convenient parade-ground levelled for the troops to exercise on, as well as many other local improvements. The "*Botanic Garden*," as it is now termed, owes its origin, it is said, entirely to Governor Brooke's "*Misceants' Mess*." The landing-place, which had hitherto been in a very imperfect and dangerous condition, was lengthened by order of the Governor, and made safe and commodious. A system of telegraphs was established which replaced the old system of "runners," as the men who carried messages from one post to another were termed. An aqueduct was made which conducted the water from the neighbourhood of Plantation House to Ladder Hill, and something of a similar kind to convey the water from near Diana's Peak to Longwood.

Within two years after assuming the Government, he had so much improved and extended the produce of the island, that the amount of sales

to the shipping had increased from £4,500 to £6,600 sterling, and so gratified were the inhabitants at their amended condition, that many of them now turned their attention to increasing their home comforts, by building commodious houses and farm premises. Great facilities were offered to the vessels employed in the South Sea whale fishery, and these were so highly appreciated by the principal merchants engaged in the trade, that they presented Governor Brooke with a very handsome piece of plate. His exertions were also acknowledged by the Court of Directors, who, increased his salary to £1,000, and conferred on him the commission of colonel, with the pay of that rank. Marquis Wellesley, then Governor-General of India, sent him a very handsome sword, taken in the palace of Seringapatam, in token of his appreciation of the benefits the Company had received from Governor Brooke's wise administration; and when he left the island in March, 1800, his departure was regretted by every class of the inhabitants.

After an interval of a year, during which the Government was administered by Lieut.-Governor Robson, Colonel Patton arrived and took possession of the office. He followed in the steps of his predecessor, in respect to some of the improvements which Governor Brooke had partly carried out, completed the system of telegraphs, made the aqueduct to Ladder Hill of a more permanent character, and devoted much time and attention to improving the defensive positions on the heights.

In 1808 General Beatson, whose name has been mentioned in connection with sundry matters already, arrived as Governor. During the five years of his reign over the island he exerted himself to promote the interests of the place and of the inhabitants; and although his gold-hunting and other visionary schemes did not produce any very tangible results, he was more fortunate in other matters.

The spirit of insubordination, however, which had on so many previous occasions wrought so much mischief, had not been entirely quelled by the severe punishment it had entailed on the actors in the disturbance that had occurred; and in December, 1811, a daring mutiny broke out among the troops, with the declared object of seizing the Governor, and sending him off the island.

The mutineers took possession of some pieces of artillery at Deadwood, and in several parties marched from different points towards Plantation; but the Governor had adopted the necessary measures for defeating them, and after a miserable attempt at subverting the Government, this affair terminated, as might be expected, in the dispersal of the mutineers. At a subsequent court-martial six of the ringleaders were sentenced to death, and were hanged at High Knoll, in the evening of the same day, and one other chief actor in the mutiny was executed two days afterwards in Jamestown.

Governor Beatson attributed the outbreak principally to the dissatisfaction resulting from the measures he had found it absolutely necessary to adopt, with reference to the enormous expense of the annual charges of the island. In his report to the directors he states that on his arrival in Saint Helena he found a population of 3,600 living almost wholly upon the public stores, and obtaining most of the necessaries of life in profusion, at prices not exceeding one-third of the prime cost; the consequences of which were the neglect of cultivation, the decline of industry,

and an immense augmentation in the annual charges of the island. This augmentation, between the years 1800 and 1808 (the period between the departure of Governor Brooke and the arrival of Governor Beatson), had been gradually progressive from £51,030 to £114,961, exclusive of expenses of freight and other charges, which, when added to the latter sum, increased it to £157,356. The cause of this increase in the charges of the island, the Governor goes on to say, "originated in a new and extraordinary system, which had gradually crept in, of feeding the population from the Company's stores. The cause of those additional expenses being ascertained, it was easy to apply proper remedies, but in doing so I certainly could not expect to obtain the good-will of the Saint Helenians: this will explain the general dissatisfaction alluded to."

The measures introduced by Governor Beatson had the effect of reducing the expenses from £157,356 in 1808 to £104,880 in 1812, chiefly by the effect of regulations and restrictions upon the issues and sales of provisions from the Company's stores, and partly by setting examples of English husbandry before the farmers, and thus inducing a larger scale of cultivation. He says, "I found a garrison, as well as many of the inhabitants, immersed in the grossest intemperance, from the facility of obtaining, and their excessive use of, spirituous liquors, and I found that abuses existed in some of the departments."

The measures I resorted to in correcting so many existing evils (and which have been honoured by your entire approbation) must be in the recollection of your honourable Court. "The want of bread-corn was the *pretended* cause of dissatisfaction; but circumstances have since clearly shown that the *sole* object of the late violent measures was to compel this Government to give spirits to the garrison—an object in which every drunkard on the island felt a deep and warm interest."

Colonel Wilks succeeded to the Government in 1813, and Sir Hudson Lowe in 1816. On the departure of Sir Hudson in 1821, the Government was administered by Mr. T. H. Brooke, the author of the very interesting work entitled, "A History of Saint Helena," and from which much of what is here given of the various events that occurred prior to 1806 has been taken.

General Walker was appointed Governor in 1823, and was succeeded by General Dallas in 1828, Mr. Brooke having for a short period previous to the arrival of General Dallas again held the office temporarily.

In 1836 the transfer of the island to the Crown took place, and General Middlemore was appointed Governor. He was succeeded by Colonel Trelawney in 1842, and subsequently Colonel Fraser, and after him Colonel J. Ross, held the reins of Government for a few months, in each as a temporary measure. In 1846, Sir Patrick Ross became Governor: he died on the 28th of August, 1850, and Colonel Clarke acted as Governor until the arrival of Colonel Browne in 1851.

In 1854 Colonel Vigors assumed the temporary charge of the Government, and in 1856 Sir Edmund H. Drummond Hay was appointed Governor. In July, 1863, Sir Edmund left for England, and was succeeded by Admiral Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.B.







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